



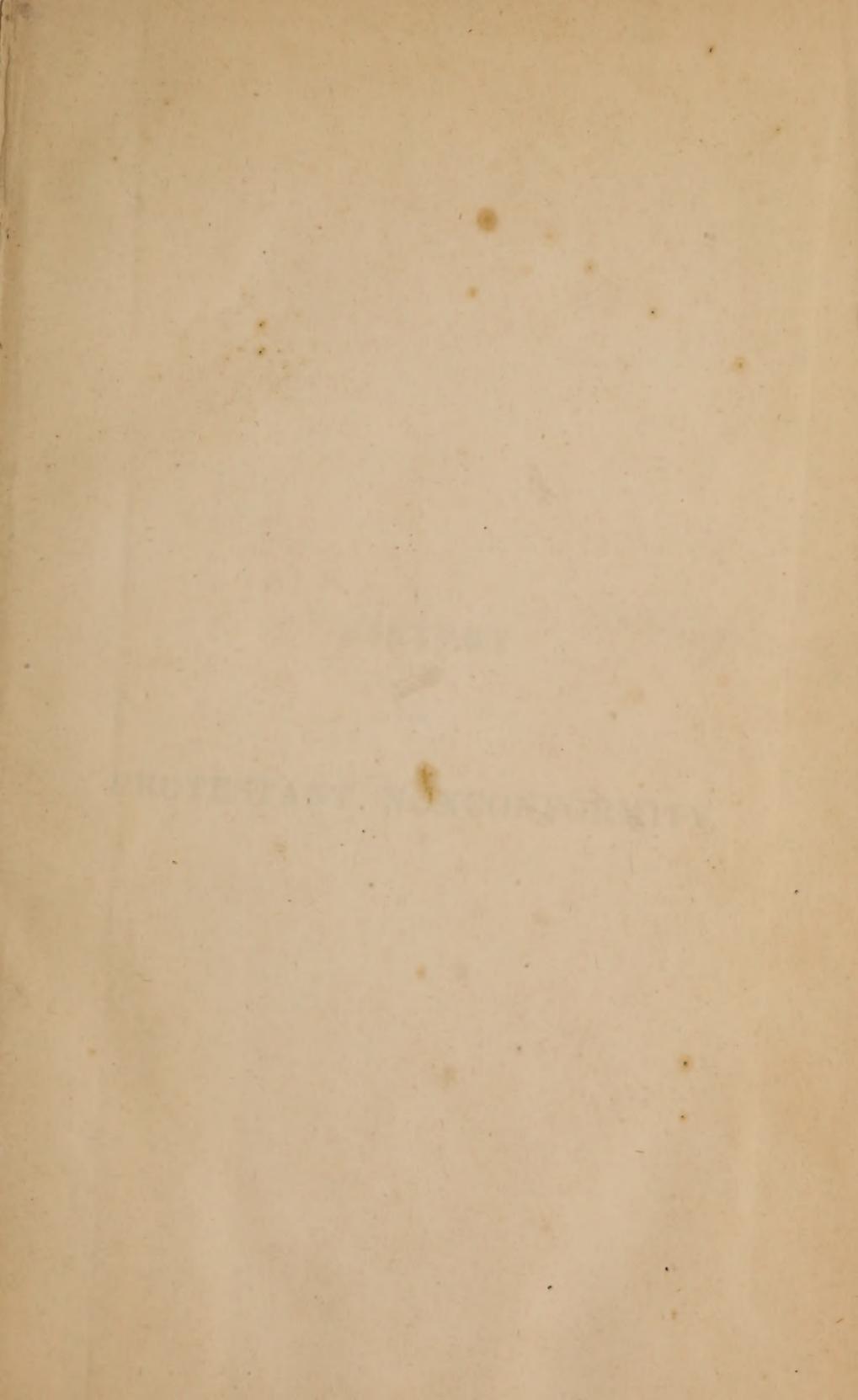


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The history of Protestant
nonconformity in England

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ЧИТАНИЕ ПРЕДСТОЯЩ

ПРИГОДНОСТИ ПРОЧИТАВШИХ

Tho: Ryper

THE

HISTORY

OF

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY

IN ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REFORMATION UNDER HENRY VIII.

BY THOMAS PRICE, D.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:—WILLIAM BALL,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

1838.

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PREFACE.

THE Author deeply regrets the delay which has occurred in the completion of his work. It has been occasioned by circumstances beyond his control, and which it would be impertinent to detail to his readers. It is sufficient to remark that, when he committed himself to the engagement, he had the prospect of uninterrupted leisure,—so far at least as the avocations of the dissenting ministry permitted. Subsequent events have materially altered his position, and his work has consequently proceeded amidst many interruptions. It has frequently been laid aside for months, and then been resumed during brief intervals snatched from other and pressing occupations. To his own mind the preparation of the work has been a solace much needed and never failing. Separated unexpectedly from a people whose enduring kindness and tendersympathy will never be forgotten, it would have been strange if gloomy and painful thoughts had not occasionally disturbed his peace. When memory, however, has sought to dwell upon the past—the brightness of which stood out in striking contrast with the anticipated darkness of the future—he has found relief and happiness in the labors to which he was pledged.

The present work owes its origin to a course of lectures which the Author delivered to the congregation meeting in Devonshire Square, London. It is, however, entirely new, not containing to the best of his knowledge a single sentence of his lectures. On

revising his manuscript for publication he found it would be necessary to recompose the whole, the style of the two species of composition being so essentially different. It was his original intention to bring down the history to a much later period ; but he soon found that this could not be done within the limits he had prescribed to himself, without passing over some important periods in a hurried and unsatisfactory manner. The history of Protestant Nonconformity is so blended with the progress of civil freedom, as to render an intimate knowledge of the latter essential to an accurate estimate and due appreciation of the former. He therefore determined to close his present labors at the Restoration, and he hopes that his readers will approve of his decision. He wishes the work to be regarded as complete, and himself as free from any obligation to carry it further. Should his life, however, be spared, and his other engagements permit his doing so, he contemplates at some future period the publication of another volume on the modern history of Nonconformity.

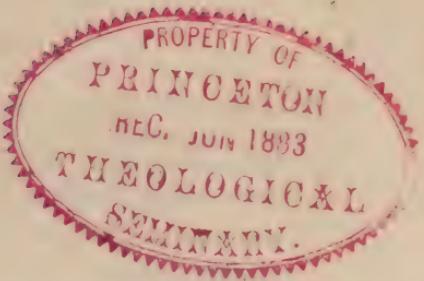
In the meantime, it remains to be seen what judgment the public will pass on his labors. He does not affect to be indifferent, neither is he anxious on this point. He has done his best, under the circumstances of the case, faithfully to exhibit the history he had undertaken. Of one thing he is certain, and no hostile criticisms will deprive him of the conviction,—he has not knowingly misrepresented a single event or character. That he has fallen into some inaccuracies, he is prepared to learn ;—that he has “ falsified history, or defamed the character of the dead,” he unhesitatingly denies. The author has not written for the zealots of any party, and will not therefore be surprised

if, on the one hand, he shall be suspected of lukewarmness and false candor, while, on the other, he is assailed with the charge of sectarian partiality. He does not wish, nor has he sought, to suppress his own opinions. They are broadly stated, and may be traced on every page of his volumes. The further he has looked into history, the deeper has become his conviction that the alliance at present existing between the Church and the State is part of the grand apostacy,—an unnatural and most pernicious association which must be terminated before the ultimate triumphs of the Christian faith are achieved. The essential spirit of popery has been retained under a Protestant name, and the consequence has been, distraction to the State, and formality and worldly-mindedness to the Church. To expect political men to administer ecclesiastical affairs with any other view than the advancement of their secular interests, is to look for grapes from thorns and figs from thistles. The author does not wish to be regarded as neutral on this cardinal point. His opinions have been maturely formed. They are the growth of years, have gathered strength with the increase of his knowledge, and are destined, in his judgment—slowly it may be, but still effectually—to remodel the institutions of society. In his admiration of the piety and erudition of many members of the Established Church, he yields to no man; and, were the excellencies of individuals the only question in dispute, his voice at least would be silent. But this is far from being the case. Principles and systems are at stake, and as an honest man he has no alternative. Leaving others to decide for themselves, he must act on his own conviction. For the opinions expressed throughout his work, he has,

therefore, no apology to offer. Believing them to be true, he is willing that they should be subjected to the severest test. Of the reasonings by which they are supported, he has nothing to say. If sound, let them be admitted,—if otherwise, it will be easy to refute them.

Of the labors of his predecessors he is desirous of speaking in the most respectful and grateful terms. He has freely availed himself of them, though never he believes without an honest acknowledgment. Few works have been so severely and censoriously scrutinized as “The History of the Puritans,” yet its substantial accuracy remains unshaken. The Author cheerfully bears his testimony to the general fidelity and worth of Mr. Neal’s volumes. Considering the state of our historical literature at the period of their composition, they reflect the highest credit on his industry, judgment, candor, and integrity.

In closing this brief preface, the Author begs respectfully to acknowledge his obligation to the Trustees of Dr. Williams’s Library for their permission to inspect the valuable manuscripts under their charge. His thanks are also especially due, and are hereby presented, to Joshua Wilson, Esq., of Highbury, for the loan of several rare treatises and pamphlets; and to Benjamin Hanbury, Esq., whose announced “Memorials of the Congregational Body” will supply an important chasm in the religious history of our country.



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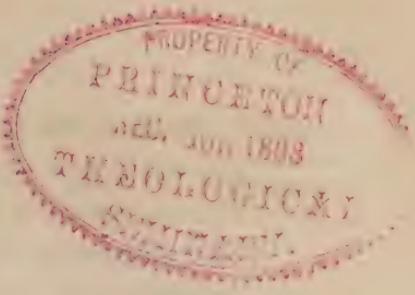
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THE
HISTORY
OF
PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY.



CHAPTER I.

CHARLES I.

Improved state of political feeling at his Accession—Despotic character of the King—Buckingham his Chief Adviser—First Parliament—Favorable to the Puritan Clergy—Proceedings against Montague—Dissolved in anger—Second Parliament summoned—Measures of the Court to weaken the Country Party—Grievances—Threatening Speech of the King—Dissolution—Unconstitutional Measures of the Court—Star Chamber—High Commission—Arminian Controversy—Sequestration of the Archbishop—Third Parliament—Speech of the King—Calm Decision of the Popular Leaders—Petition of Right—Duplicity of the King—Petition against the Catholics.

CHARLES succeeded his father on the twenty- CHAP. I.
seventh of March, 1625, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and was married in the following June to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., and sister of Louis XIII., the King of France.

His reign constitutes one of the most memorable periods of English history. Contending parties date their origin from its struggles, and trace in its records the memorials of human folly, or the signal proofs of sagacity and courage. The presiding genius of Elizabeth, which in her better days had

CHARLES
I.

Improved state
of political
feeling at the
accession of
Charles,
1625.

CHAP. I. awakened the fear and commanded the respect of
CHARLES I. her subjects, was scarcely able, towards the close of
life, to restrain the rising spirit of the country. The commercial prosperity and growing intellect of the nation led to an assertion of political principles which, however accordant with the theory of the constitution, was foreign from the practice of the Tudor sovereigns. The representatives of the people began to feel their importance, and to prepare for the faithful discharge of their duties. Their language was yet moderate, and their demeanour respectful and submissive. They were held under control by the personal qualities of the Queen, and by the vigilance and steadiness of her councils. It only required the succession of a monarch, pedantic, pusillanimous, and arbitrary, like James, to mature the judgment, and to give consistency and strength to the resolution of the Commons. The seeds of English liberty rapidly vegetated during the reign of the first of the Stuarts. The personal character and impotent tyranny of the monarch favoured their growth, while the virtues and the talents which were arrayed in opposition to his government, won the confidence, and enlightened the judgment of the nation. To the weak-minded despotism of the father are to be attributed the political crimes and calamities of the son. The course of events brought the antagonist principles of prerogative and liberty into close and deadly conflict. The popular leaders had progressed beyond the spirit or practice of the government. Intimately acquainted with the ancient land-marks of English freedom, they took their stand on the principles of the constitution, and prepared to wage battle in their defence against the

encroachments of the throne. Considerable progress was made during the reign of James, in the freedom of parliamentary speech. The debates of this period sufficiently indicate the change which had passed on the public mind. It was not, however, for political theories merely that the patriots of that day contended. The zeal which religion enkindles was united to, and sanctified the fervour of, political reform. It is to this fact that the preservation of English liberty must be traced. The inheritance bequeathed by ancient worthies would have been wrested from their descendants, and tyranny, in some of its delusive forms, have been established, if religious interests had not been identified in the public judgment with the correction of political abuses, and the limitation of monarchical power. The people were not as yet sufficiently informed to take an absorbing interest in the discussion of secular topics. In this respect, the leaders of the popular party were so far in advance of their generation, that they must have failed to engage the sympathy and concurrence of their contemporaries if religion had not been introduced as a bond of union, and a source of deep and impassioned feeling.

It was the infelicity of Charles to have been ill prepared by his education for this state of things. Trained up in a court the atmosphere of which was polluted, and its principles arbitrary, he escaped the contagion of the former only to yield himself up more entirely to the latter.^a The instructions

^a "This prince," says Lord Bolingbroke, "had sucked in with his milk those absurd principles of government which

his father was so industrious, and, unhappily for king and people, so successful in propagating. He found them es-

CHARLES I. of his father disqualified him for acting the part of a constitutional monarch, and disposed him to confide in unprincipled and despotic advisers. In a private station, he would have failed to conciliate attachment, though he might have escaped censure; but, as a sovereign, he rendered himself odious by the absurd and criminal pretensions which he advanced. Instead of accommodating his policy to the spirit of the times, he stood on the worst precedents of a former age, and brought to the throne such an exorbitant notion of kingly power as rendered the subsequent struggle inevitable. His natural temper was in harmony with his principles, and greatly contributed to the calamities of his reign.^b

Buckingham
his chief ad-
viser.

His chief adviser was the Duke of Buckingham, an unprincipled and ambitious man. The beauty and gracefulness of his person had recommended

poused as true principles, both of religion and policy, by a whole party in the nation, whom he esteemed friends to the constitution in church and state. He found them opposed by a party whom he looked on indiscriminately as enemies to the church and to monarchy. Can we wonder that he grew jealous in a cause which he understood to concern him so nearly, and in which he saw so many men who had not the same interest, and might therefore be supposed to act on a principle of conscience equally zealous? Let any one who hath been deeply and long engaged in the contests of party, ask himself, on cool reflection, whether prejudices concerning men and things have not grown up and strengthened with him, and obtained an unaccountable influence over his conduct?

We dare appeal to the inward sentiments of every such person. With this habitual bias upon him, King Charles came to the throne; and, to complete the misfortune, he had given all his confidence to a madman."—Craftsman. Quoted by Harris. Life of Charles I., p. 278.

^b "This," says Burnet, speaking of the temper of Charles, "led him to a grave, reserved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, to which they had been long accustomed; nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever: so far from that, he had such an ungracious way of showing favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging."—Own Times, i. 34.

him to the favour of James ; from whose prodigal CHAP. I.
liberality he received the largest bounties which a
monarch could bestow. The favorite of the father
was, for some time, regarded with jealousy and
distrust by the son ; but the journey of the Prince
and Duke to Spain induced an entire confidence
which continued to the assassination of the latter.^c
CHARLES I.
Buckingham was a man of capricious temper, and
of ungovernable passion ; who could recklessly
sacrifice the honor of his master, and the interests
of his country, to the gratification of his private
resentments. His influence on the councils of
Charles was eminently injurious, and mainly con-
tributed to his ruin. Under such auspices, the
reign of the youthful monarch commenced, and the
mistrust which his own character inspired, was
greatly deepened by the paramount influence which
so unprincipled a favorite was known to exert.

Charles was at first thought to be favourable to
the Puritans ; but his earliest measures disproved
the supposition.^d He threw himself entirely into
the arms of their opponents, and advanced to the
highest dignities of the church the most intolerant
and bigotted ecclesiastics whom the school of his
father had produced. The atrocities of Whitgift
and Bancroft were speedily forgotten under the
severer and more sanguinary rule of Laud.

^c Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 22.

^d Burnet informs us, that "Dr. Preston, then the head of the party, came up in the coach from Theobald's to London, with the King and the Duke of Buckingham ; which, being against the rules of the Court, gave great offence. But it was said, the King was so overcharged with grief, that he wanted the comfort of so

wise and so great a man."—Own Times, i. 34. If the bishop's account be correct, it furnishes a lamentable instance of the hypocrisy which employs and prostitutes religion for the furtherance of political designs. Charles's early aversion from the Puritans is too notorious to admit of any other construction of his conduct. Clarendon i. 144.

CHARLES I.
First Parliament.

CHAP. I. The first parliament of this reign, which met June 18, 1625, has been severely censured by the King's apologists ; and its proceedings have been represented as furnishing occasion for the mistrust with which Charles habitually regarded the national representatives. For their coldness and parsimony, however, an ample justification is afforded in the discovery which they had made of the duplicity of the Prince and Duke in the account they had rendered of the Spanish negotiation. What had been attributed to patriotism and good faith, was found to have resulted from wounded vanity and base intrigue. The honor of the nation was trodden underfoot by an unprincipled minion, who sought to conceal his baseness by imposing on the credulity of parliament. Charles stood by him in his falsehood, and was deeply implicated in its guilt. How could confidence be placed in such men, or the duty of representatives be discharged, if the national purse was placed in their hands ? Having observed a day of fasting and prayer, the Commons proceeded to the question of grievances, and united in a petition to the King, setting forth the increase of papists, and calling for a severe and impartial execution of the laws against them.^e

Favourable to
the puritan
clergy.

One of their requests evidently refers to the Puritan Clergy, who had been silenced for non-conformity ; and sufficiently evidences the disposi-

^e “ The fears of the King's protestant subjects were awakened at this time by the sanction afforded to the Romish worship at the Queen's chapel in Somerset house, where apartments were

provided for a fraternity of Capuchin Friars. Great numbers of Seminary priests and Jesuits, encouraged by this public countenance, repaired to England.”—Rushworth, 175.

tion of the House to favour the members of that party.

CHARLES
I.

“ That special care be taken,” they say, “ to enlarge the word of God throughout all the parts of your Majesty’s dominions, as being the most powerful means for planting of true religion, and rooting out the contrary: To which end, among other things, let it please your Majesty to advise your bishops, by fatherly entreaty and tender usage, to reduce to the peaceable and orderly service of the church such able ministers as have been previously silenced, that there may be a profitable use of their ministry in these needful and dangerous times: And that non-residences, pluralities, and commendams, may be moderated,” &c. To which request the King replied—“ This his Majesty likes well, so as it be applied to such ministers as are peaceable, orderly, and conformable to the Church government,” &c.^f The whole petition displays the same inveterate hostility to Popery, and dread of its increase, which had characterized the parliaments of James.^g It is usual with the enemies of the Puritans, to represent this feeling as

^f Rushworth, 186.

^g Charles, in his reply to this petition, solemnly engaged to comply with the request of his parliament, and to put the penal laws into execution against the Catholics. Yet it is obvious, that he never intended to do so; for, in his marriage-treaty with Henrietta Maria, the following private articles were inserted—“ That the Catholics, as well ecclesiastics as temporal, imprisoned since the last proclamation which followed the breach with Spain, should all be set at liberty.

“ That the English Catholics

should be no more searched after, nor molested for their religion.

“ That the goods of the Catholics, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, that were seized on since the fore-mentioned proclamation, should be restored to them.” As the first-fruit of these articles, a special pardon of all offences was granted to twenty Romish priests on the 10th of May. Rushworth, 173. Charles never hesitated to employ duplicity in his negotiations with his parliaments. Hume, in extenuation of his conduct, says, “ He was apt, in imitation of his father,

CHARLES I. confined to the members of that party; but the slightest knowledge of the history of these times is sufficient to show that it extended far beyond them. Popery was dreaded by the patriot as much as by the puritan. The former regarded it as the ally of despotism, the latter as the enemy of the truth of God. It required the enlarged experience of modern times to prove that the position of the two parties might be changed, and protestantism become slavish in its spirit, while popery boldly advocated the civil rights of mankind.

Proceedings
against
Montague.

This Parliament also signalized its zeal against Popery and on behalf of the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, by committing Montague, one of the King's chaplains, to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms for publishing a book entitled "*An Appeal to Cæsar.*" A committee was appointed to examine the work, who reported, that it contained many things contrary to the articles established by Parliament, tending to the dishonor of the King, and to the disturbance of the Church and State. Charles, however, interposed on behalf of his servant, who was ultimately released on giving bail to the amount of £2000.^b A considerable alteration had taken place in the theology of the court clergy during the reign of James. Renouncing the calvinistic doctrines which he had supported at the Synod of Dort, that monarch distributed his patronage amongst the most violent and

to imagine that the parliament, when they failed of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance."—*History of England*, vi. 154. So conveniently

lax was the morality of this sainted king.

^b Rushworth, 177, 180. White-lock, 1. Parliamentary Hist. ii. 6.

unscrupulous abettors of the opposite creed of CHAP. I.
Arminius. The latter became in consequence attached to the Court, and sought to repay its favour by advocating the most unconstitutional and arbitrary principles of government. Montague was one of this servile class, and was, shortly after his appearance before the Commons, as if in contempt of their judgment, elevated by Charles to the episcopal bench.

Finding that the Commons persisted in demanding a redress of grievances as the condition of a further supply, and fearing that they would proceed to impeach his favourite Buckingham, the King suddenly dissolved the House on the 12th of August. By this rash step he involved himself in increased difficulties, and laid the foundation of that discontent which so rapidly pervaded the nation, and ultimately effected the subversion of his throne.ⁱ It was the infelicity of Charles to be

Parliament dissolved in anger.

ⁱ The Commons were highly incensed against the King's government, on account of the perfidious use attempted to be made of the English navy against the Protestants of France. The knowledge of this intrigue became public during the recess, and greatly aggravated the suspicion which had previously attached to the policy of Charles. His father had promised to the French King the loan of some ships to be used against Spain in the Mediterranean. These were ordered to the coast of France during the present year, when the sailors, discovering that they were to be employed against Rochelle, a Protestant town then blockaded by the French King, refused to obey their orders, and returned to England, declaring "they

would rather be hanged at home than surrender the ship, or be slaves to the French, and fight against their own religion." Messengers immediately arrived from the French Protestants, to entreat that no ships might be lent to their enemies; but, though they received fair answers from the King and his council, strict orders were sent to Admiral Pennington to return to the French coast, and to execute the command he had formerly received. The vessels were ultimately put into the hands of the French; but the crews quitted them in disgust; and, with the exception of one man, returned to England to spread the tale of their country's disgrace. Rushworth, 178, 179, 180. Whitelock.2. Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, i. 363.

CHARLES I. CHAP. I. totally ignorant of the character of the people over whom he ruled, and of the temper of the times in which he lived. Instead of looking abroad on the spirit of the age with an enlightened and philosophical eye, he was solicitous to imitate the worst actions of his predecessors, and to render the forms of the constitution, which had been devised for the preservation of liberty, the sepulchre in which its spirit should be entombed. Had his parliaments been subservient to his pleasure, he would have convened them as often as his necessities required ; but, when they presumed to question the wisdom of his measures, and to reflect on his advisers, he was astonished at their temerity, and hastily dismissed them to their homes.

Second parliament summoned,
Feb. 6, 1625.

But the King's design of governing without parliaments was not yet matured ; and, as the war with Spain involved him in serious pecuniary difficulties, the representatives of the nation were again summoned to meet on the 6th of the following February.

Measures of
the court to
weaken the
country party.

Measures were now taken by the court to weaken the opposition it had encountered in the former parliament. With this view, Sir Edward Coke, and six other popular leaders, were nominated by the King as sheriffs of counties, by which they were disqualified for being returned to parliament.¹ Orders were also given to the Archbishops and Bishops to proceed against popish recusants, and a proclamation was issued, commanding all convicted papists to remain within five miles of their dwellings.

¹ Rushworth, 201. Whitelock, 2. Lingard, 9. 341.

But these measures, instead of breaking the spirit, or conciliating the good-will of the Commons, only served to exhibit the insincerity of the government, and to impress its opponents more deeply with the necessity of employing their constitutional right to remedy the grievances, and to protect the liberties, of the subjects. A large subsidy was promised on the condition of a redress of grievances, which the King resented as an indignity, informing the house in his reply, that he would be as willing as any of his predecessors to hear their grievances, so that they applied themselves to their redress rather than to their discovery. As their debates had evidently pointed to Buckingham as the great agent of bad government, the King informed them, that he would permit no reflections to be passed on his ministers. "I must let you know," said the chafed and despotic monarch, "that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you; much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me."^k Such a declaration was more likely to irritate than to subdue the parties to whom it was addressed, and they consequently proceeded to the impeachment of the royal favourite, and to assert, in various other ways, their privileges against the illegal assumptions of the King. Various committees were appointed to inquire into the grievances under which the nation suffered, to one of which concerning religion, and the growth of Popery, the case of Montague was referred.^l Weary of the

^k King's Charles's Works, 361. Rushworth, 220.

^l The King determined to leave his chaplain to the judgment of

CHARLES
I.

The Commons
proceed to
the subject
of grievances.

CHARLES I. CHAP. I. Commons' delay in voting the subsidies, the King admonished them of the pressing nature of his wants, and enjoined them immediately to proceed to this necessary duty. But they were too mistrustful of his designs to part with the public purse. They knew that the only reason for their being called together was the hope of supplies, and that immediately these were granted, the house would be prorogued or dissolved. They, therefore, wisely, and in strict conformity with the spirit of the constitution, refused to yield to the King's entreaty.

Threatening
Speech of
the King.

Message after message was received from the monarch, who at length ventured, in no very dubious words, to threaten them with the adoption of other measures for the supply of his wants. "Remember," said he, in his speech to the two Houses March 29, "that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution: therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be. And remember, that if in this time, instead of mending your errors, by delay you persist in your errors, you make them greater and irreconcileable: whereas, on the other side, if you do go cheerfully to mend them, and look to the distressed state of Christendom, and the affairs of the kingdom, as it lieth now by this great engagement, you will do yourselves honour, you shall encourage me to go on with parliaments, and I hope all Christendom shall feel the good of it."^m

parliament, which Laud deeply regretted, exclaiming, "I seem to see a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England; God,

for his mercy, dissipate it."—Rushworth, 202.

^m King Charles's Works, 363. Rushworth, 229. The King was

A series of altercations followed between the CHAP. I.
King and his parliament, till Charles, hearing that
the Commons were preparing an energetic remon-
strance against the Duke, signed a commission for
the dissolution of the House. The Lords petitioned
him to delay this measure for a short time. But
his decision was irrevocable; and he pettishly
replied, "No; not for a minute."ⁿ Thus the
second parliament of this reign was dissolved,
without having accomplished any other purpose
than that of rendering more evident the arbitrary
policy of the King, and the great dissatisfaction of

CHARLES
I.Second par-
liament dis-
solved in
anger.

June 15.

most unfortunate in the choice of his advisers, or, if he acted on his own suggestions, he was radically unfit for the English throne. Sir Dudley Carlton, Vice-chamberlain of the King's household, thus addressed the Commons on occasion of their resenting the imprisonment of two of their members— "You have heard his majesty's often messages to you to put you forward in a course that will be most convenient. In those messages he told you, That if there were not correspondency between him and you, he should be informed to use new counsels. Now, I pray you, consider what these new counsels are, and may be: I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian kingdoms, you know that parliaments were in use antiently, by which their kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner, until the monarchs began to know their own strength; and, seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand up on their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout Christendom, except now only with us. And, indeed, you would

count it a great misery, if you knew the subjects in foreign countries, as well as myself, to see them look, not like our nation, with store of flesh on their backs, but like so many ghosts, and not men, being nothing but skin and bones, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing only wooden shoes on their feet: so that they cannot eat meat, or wear good clothes, but they must pay and be taxed unto the king for it. This is a misery beyond expression, and that which yet we are free from. Let us be careful then to preserve the King's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth this happiness to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his majesty and his commons; lest we lose the repute of a free-born nation by turbulencie in parliament. For, in my opinion, the greatest and wisest part of a parliament are those that use the greatest silence, so as it be not opinionative or sullen, as now we are by the loss of these our members that are committed."—Parl. Hist. ii. 120.

ⁿ Ibid. ii. 193.

CHARLES I. CHAP. I. the nation. The suddenness of the event spread dismay and grief through the land. The moderate of all parties regretted it, and the most violent of the King's counsellors soon found reason to suspect the wisdom of the step they had advised.

Unconstitutional proceedings of the Court.

Star Chamber.

As the temper of the parliament had irritated the King, so its dissolution involved him in serious pecuniary difficulties. To relieve himself from these, he did not hesitate to adopt the most unconstitutional and offensive methods; and all who resisted his demands, or refused to lend themselves to his arbitrary proceedings, were summoned before the Council, or into the Star Chamber, and punished with merciless severity. "For the better support," says Lord Clarendon, "of these extraordinary ways, and to protect the agents and instruments who must be employed in them, and to disown and suppress all bold inquiries and opposers, the Council-table and Star Chamber enlarge their jurisdictions to a vast extent, holding (as Thucydides said of the Athenians) for honorable that which pleased, and for just that which profited; and, being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury; the council-table by proclamation enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the star-chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment; so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right, by which men valued their security, to the appre-

hension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed.”^o

The High Commission Court was another instrument of tyranny which the ministers of Charles I. vigorously employed. Its ^{High Commission Court.} commissaries were spread over the kingdom to superintend the proceedings of the bishops' courts, and to fan the flame of persecution where it might otherwise have expired. The commissioners took cognizance of all public breaches of morality, and of all words, publications, and actions, which assailed the reputation, or tended to the overthrow, of the established church. Its proceedings gave rise to general discontent, and were especially conducive to the alienation of the English bar from the interests of the hierarchy. Neither justice nor mercy were regarded in the judgments of this court, which embodied the evil spirit of the government to an extent that alarmed the nation, and justified the measures which were ultimately employed against it. “It cannot be denied,” says Clarendon, speaking of this court, “that by the great power of some bishops at court, it had much overflowed the banks which should have contained it; not only in meddling with things that in truth were not properly within their commission; but, extending their sentences and judgments in matters triable before them beyond that degree that was justifiable; and grew to have so great a contempt of the common law and the professors of it (which was a

^o Hist. of Rebellion, i. 121. Those who are desirous of fuller information respecting the illegal methods adopted by the King at this period to supply his necessi-

ties, are referred to Rushworth, 417, 418, 419, 420. 422. 426. 432. Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, i. 382—390. Lingard's Hist. ix. 354—358. And to Neal, ii. 150.

CHARLES I. CHAP. I. total unskilfulness in the bishops, who could never have suffered, whilst the common law had been preserved) that prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, which have, and must have, the superintendence over all inferior courts, were not only neglected, but the judges reprehended for granting them (which without perjury they could not deny), and the lawyers discountenanced for moving for them (which they were obliged in duty to do), so that thereby the clergy made almost a whole profession, if not their enemies, yet very undevoted to them.”^p

Arminian Controversy.

The Arminian controversy now raged throughout the nation. Though the theology of the Leyden professor was well-known to be fashionable at court, many of the Calvinistic clergy, and some laymen also, who were zealous for the doctrinal integrity of the Church, replied to Montague’s publication. Conferences were also held in the presence of several of the nobility by some divines, respecting which Fuller informs us, that they rather increased than diminished the existing differences.^q This might have been anticipated from the previous history of such meetings, and from the temper and views of the disputants. The interests of truth have seldom been promoted by such questionable methods. The noise occasioned by these discussions was unfriendly to the policy of Charles, and his adviser Laud. It was the aim of the latter silently to undermine the theology of the Church by a skilful distribution of his patronage amongst the Arminian clergy. A great change had already been effected, and it only required the prolonged operation of the same causes

^p Hist. of Rebellion, i. 496. ^q Church Hist. xi. 124; Collier ii. 738.

to perfect the design of the innovating Bishop. CHAP. I.
But the agitation which was consequent on a public discussion of the disputed points, was inimical to CHARLES I.
his success, by awakening suspicion and fear.

A proclamation was accordingly issued by the King, declaring “ his utter dislike of all those who, to show the subtlety of their wits, or to please their own humours, or vent their own passions, shall adventure to start any new opinions, not only contrary to, but differing from, the sound and orthodox grounds of true religion, established in the Church of England ; and his full and constant resolution, that neither in doctrine nor discipline of the Church, nor in the government of the State, he will admit of the least innovation ; but, by God’s assistance, will so guide the sceptre of these kingdoms, as shall be most for the comfort and assurance of his sober, religious, and well-affected subjects, and for the repressing and punishing of the insolences of such as, out of any sinister respects, or disaffection to his Majesty’s person or government, shall dare, either in Church or State, to disturb the peace thereof ;” wherefore all his subjects, and church-men especially, are commanded to “ carry themselves so wisely, that neither by writing, preaching, printing, conferences, or otherwise, they raise, publish, or maintain any other opinions concerning religion, than such as are clearly warranted by the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England ! ” As the articles had generally been interpreted in a Calvinistic sense, (and their phraseology obviously precludes an opposite interpretation), this proclamation might seem designed to prohibit the promulgation of Arminian tenets. But such was

CHARLES CHAP. I. far from being the intention of its framers. It was a covert piece of policy, borrowed from preceding reigns; and its partial application soon manifested the sinister intentions of the King's government. The publications of the doctrinal Puritans were suppressed, while those of their adversaries were licensed by Laud and his party.^r "The effects of this proclamation," says Rushworth,^s how equally soever intended, became the stopping of the Puritans' mouths, and an uncontrolled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party."^t

Sequestra-tion of the Arch-bishop.

During the year 1627, the aged Archbishop Abbot was suspended from his functions, in consequence of his refusing to license a sermon of Dr. Sibthorp, a man of contemptible talents, but of arbitrary principles. This miserable performance was entitled *Apostolical obedience*, and was designed to enforce the obligation of submitting to the illegal exactions of the Crown. The doctrines of passive obedience, and non resistance, were advocated with all the zeal of a slavish and ambitious spirit; and the people were told, that "if princes command any thing which subjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God, or of nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without resistance, or railing, or reviling; and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one."^t This absurd doctrine was congenial to the temper of the Court; and the King consequently importuned the Archbishop to license the discourse in which it was advocated. But Abbot, though far advanced in age,

^r Neal, ii. 148. Collier, ii. 738.

^s Hist. Coll. 417.

^t Rushworth, 427.

and enfeebled by infirmity, steadily refused to CHAP. I.
 sanction the publication. For this offence, a CHARLES
 Commission of Sequestration was issued, and the I.
 administration of his archiepiscopal functions was
 entrusted to the aspiring Laud, and four other
 bishops.^u The spirit and principles of Abbot were
 so foreign from those of the predominant faction,
 that he had long been in discredit at Court, and
 was especially hateful to Buckingham, towards
 whom he refused to carry himself with that servile
 submission, which the proud minister exacted from
 his dependents. His refusal, therefore, to comply
 with the King's wishes was eagerly seized by his
 enemies, who had little difficulty in persuading
 Charles of the propriety of punishing the contumacy
 of the aged Ecclesiastic.^v

The King's necessities at length compelled him again to summon the Representatives of the People. The madness of Buckingham had precipitated him into a war with France, which was conducted with a disgraceful want of foresight and courage. The

Third
Parliament.
1628.

^u Rushworth, 435. Collier, ii. 740.
^v Fuller erroneously attributes Abbot's sequestration to the *casual homicide* which he had committed in the previous reign. Ch. Hist. xi. 127. The terms of the Commission, and the narrative which Abbot has left of the affair, leave no doubt of the occasion of his suspension being that which is specified in the text. What Fuller calls "his stiffness, and averseness to comply with the Court designs," may well be regarded as having prejudiced Buckingham and his minion Charles against him; but the immediate occasion of his disgrace was the sermon of Sibthorp. Rushworth, 438. Collier, ii. 741.

The latter writer censures the subjection of the ecclesiastical to the civil power, which this affair displays. Without possessing a particle of sympathy with Abbot, he is scandalized at the authority exercised by the King over the officers of the Church. "The blame," says Fuller, referring to the severity of Abbot's treatment, "did most light on Laud, men accounting this a kind of *Filius ante diem*, &c. As if, not content to *succeed*, he endeavoured to *supplant* him; who might well have suffered his decayed old age to have died in honour. What needs the *felling* of the tree a *falling*." xi. 128.

CHARLES I. national pride was thus wounded, as its privileges had previously been assailed. Men of all ranks felt that their country was degraded from the lofty and proud station to which the foreign policy of Elizabeth had raised it; and they began to demand, in firm and menacing tones, that the enemy of the Commonwealth should be surrendered to justice. The disastrous events of the war had so exhausted the King's treasure, and anticipated the unconstitutional revenue on which he had depended since 1626, that no alternative was left but that of trying the temper of another Parliament, and attempting to cajole it into extravagant supplies. When this resolution was taken, measures were adopted to conciliate the country party. The sequestration of Abbot was removed; Bishop Williams, and the Earl of Bristol, were released from the Tower; and an Order of Council was issued for the setting at liberty seventy-six knights and gentlemen, who had been imprisoned for refusing the recent loan.^w By such means, the Court hoped to delude the country party into the persuasion, that it regretted the severity of its past measures, and was disposed to proceed with greater leniency for the future. But it knew little of the men with whom it had to do. They were too sagacious and far-sighted to be imposed on by its delusive policy, as they were too courageous and enduring to be appalled by the penalties it could inflict.

Speech of the King. They met on the 17th of March, 1627-8, and were addressed by the impolitic King, in a petulant and threatening strain, which could not fail to give

^w Heylin's Laud, 170. Rushworth, 477. 478. Whitelock, 9.

increased determination and energy to their coun- CHAP. I.
cils. "I, therefore," said Charles, after adverting to
the necessities of the State, "judging a parliament CHARLES
to be the ancient, speediest, and best way, in this L
time of common danger, to give such supply as to
secure ourselves, and to save our friends, from im-
minent ruin, have called you together. Every man
now must do according to his conscience; there-
fore, if you (as God forbid) should not do your
duties, in contributing what the state at this time
needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use
other means, which God hath put into my hands,
to save that which the follies of particular men may
otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a
threatening," added the foolish and irritated
Monarch, "for I scorn to threaten any but my
equals; but an admonition from him, that both out
of nature and duty hath most care of your preser-
vations and prosperities."^x

The leaders of the popular party were unmoved by this silly tirade. They probably pitied the man who could so far forget himself, as to

^x Rushworth, 481. Parl. Hist. ii. 218. The Lord Keeper's speech was in a similar strain; and intimated in unequivocal terms the course which would be adopted, if Parliament proved refractory. "This way," said he, "as his Majesty hath told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not as destitute of others, but as most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity, and the sword of the enemy, make way to the others. Remember his Majesty's admoni-

tion; I say, remember it." Rushworth, 483. Parl. Hist. ii. 221. Such were the ominous words addressed to the third parliament of Charles. Need we wonder that the wisdom of the National Council was baffled in attempting to reconcile the maintenance of the subject's freedom with the respect and obedience which were due to a constitutional Monarch. Charles was unsatisfied with the power intrusted to him by the laws; and was indignant at the restraints by which it was sought to curb his despotic propensities.

Calm decision of the popular leaders.

CHAP. I. insult and threaten the nation which he ruled.

CHARLES I. They were evidently aware of the crisis which had arrived; and were pre-eminently qualified for it. Their intellectual endowments were of the highest order; and their moral standing gave weight and authority to their decisions. Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of English law; Selden, the most learned man of his time; Eliot, one of the purest and most magnanimous of English patriots: Pym and Hampden, the presiding spirits of the Long Parliament, in its earliest and brightest days; together with Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, and other worthy associates, were foremost, throughout the debates of this parliament, in exposing the usurpations of the Crown, and in demanding more ample protection for the liberties of the nation. Their measures were adopted with unexampled discretion, and no advantage was given to the Court, by any intemperance of language. Every step was decided on with calmness, and taken with resolution. The unexceptionable wisdom of their measures, proved the cool judgment and protracted deliberation of which they were the fruit; while the impassioned ardour, and burning eloquence with which they were enforced on the House, swept away every obstruction, and secured their instant adoption. Sir John Eliot, the proto-martyr of this reign, was especially conspicuous amongst the patriots of his age. His eloquence was of a high order; having taken its origin from the vigour of his manly intellect, and the pure yet intense patriotism which was lighted in his breast. He may probably be regarded as the parliamentary leader of the country party, in which position he

conducted himself with a skill which proves his CHAP. I.
 self-command to have been as perfect as his oratory ^{CHARLES}
 was irresistible. "The leaders of the country party," ^{I.}
 says Dr. Lingard, "conducted their proceedings
 with the most consummate address. They advanced
 step by step, first resolving to grant a supply, then
 fixing it at the tempting amount of five subsidies,
 and, lastly, agreeing that the whole should be paid
 within the short space of twelve months. But no
 art, no entreaty, could prevail on them to pass their
 resolution in the shape of a bill. It was held out
 as a lure to the King; it was gradually brought
 nearer and nearer to his grasp—but they still re-
 fused to surrender their hold; they required, as a
 previous condition, that he should give his assent
 to those liberties which they claimed as the birth-
 right of Englishmen."^y

The Commons early proceeded to the considera- <sup>Petition of
Right.</sup>
 tion of grievances; and ultimately framed the
 celebrated *Petition of Right*, in which, after reciting
 the several laws that had been enacted for the
 protection of the liberties of the subject, and point-
 ing out the violations of them which had recently
 occurred, in the four points of illegal exactions,
 arbitrary imprisonments, quartering of soldiers and
 sailors, and infliction of punishment by martial law,
 they pray the King, "That no man hereafter be
 compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevo-
 lence, tax, or such like charge, without common
 consent by act of parliament: and that none be
 called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give
 such attendance, or be confined, or otherwise

^y Hist. of England, ix. 379.

CHARLES CHAP. I. molested or disquieted, concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained, and that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and marines, and that the people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the aforesaid conditions, for proceedings by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.”^z

Displeasure
of the King.

Charles did not conceal his displeasure against the Commons, for having passed this bill; and endeavoured, by every artifice which a tortuous and dishonest policy could suggest, to prevent its passing into a law. The Lords were tampered with, and partly won to his purpose. Message after message was sent to the Lower House, to hasten the supplies; and the most solemn assurances were given, on the word of a King, that the statute of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes insisted on by the national representatives, were regarded by the Monarch as in force, and should be observed in the administration of his government^a. His cha-

^a Rushworth, 596. Hallam, i. 535. Hume, vi. 184. Hume has printed the whole statute.

^b Rushworth, 555. Whitelock, 10. The base duplicity of the King is apparent throughout his negotiations with the Parliament, and fully justified their unyielding and stern resolution. Love of

power struggled in his unprincipled breast, with a sense of pecuniary difficulties; and he endeavoured to relieve himself from the latter, without surrendering the former, by resorting to “a studied plan of hypocrisy and deceit.” Lingard, ix. 383.

racter, however, was too well known to allow them to place any reliance on his word ; and they therefore resolved to insist on their bill, to which the consent of the Lords was ultimately obtained.^b The King was now placed in a position of extreme difficulty, from which he sought relief by an artifice as contemptible for its folly, as it was unprincipled and base. When he could no longer resist the importunities of his Parliament, he resorted to an informal mode of assenting to their bill, in the hope that it might escape the vigilance of the popular leaders, and thus afford him a pretext for neglecting the statute. But he misunderstood the men with whom he had to deal. They were indignant at his duplicity ; and Sir John Eliot, rising with the occasion, poured forth his withering eloquence in a torrent of invective, rarely equalled, and never surpassed, against the Ministers of the King. “ He stood up,” says Rushworth, “ and made a long speech, wherein he gave forth so full and lively representation of all grievances, both general and particular, as if they had never before been mentioned.”^c The effect

CHARLES I.

His duplicity.

^b Rushworth, 592.

^c Rushworth, 599. Parl. Hist. ii. 380. The former writer gives only a short abstract of the Speech. The skilful and magnanimous policy of Eliot, on this occasion, is admirably exhibited by Mr. Forster, in his life of this distinguished patriot. “ His speech,” remarks Mr. F., “ was not a representation of the grievances alone, such as had been urged some months before ; it was a pursuit of them to their poisonous spring and source; it was an exhibition beside them of their hideous origin ; it was a direction of the wrath of the

people against one oppressor, whose rank was not beyond its reach ; it was, in one word, a fatal blow at Charles, through that quarter where alone he seemed to be vulnerable—it was, in its aim and result, a philippic against the Duke of Buckingham. Demosthenes never delivered one more clear, plain, convincing, irresistible.” Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopedia.—British Statesmen, ii. 69. I cannot omit this opportunity of recommending the Life of Sir John Eliot, from which this passage is taken, to the immediate perusal of my hearers. It redeems our historical literature

CHAP. I. was irresistible. The King became alarmed for his
 CHARLES favourite ; and attempted to ward off the blow by
 I. giving his consent to the *Petition of Right*, in the
 usual manner.^d This celebrated Petition marked
 at once the moderation and the firmness of the
 popular leaders. It conferred no new privileges on
 the subject, but, leaving the Crown unshorn of its
 honours, it constituted a solemn recognition of the
 dearest and most ancient rights of the people.^e

Petition
against the
Catholics.

A Petition was also presented to the King, pray-
 ing that the laws might be put into execution
 against the papists ; that they might be prohibited
 from coming to the Court, or within ten miles of
 London, that the resort of his Majesty's subjects to

from the reproach under which it
 has long lain, and is not more dis-
 tinguished by laborious research,
 and minute accuracy, than by
 philosophical acuteness, and an
 enlightened love of freedom.

^d Rushworth, 598. 625. White-
 lock, 10. Immediately after the
 prorogation of parliament, the
 King's Printer was ordered by the
 Attorney General, "as by his
 Majesty's own command," to
 annex to the Petition of Right the
 first answer, which the two
 houses had pronounced unsatis-
 factory, and which had therefore
 been withdrawn. Parl. Hist. ii. 435.
 The duplicity of Charles, in this
 affair, was as absurd as it was
 audacious. "Instances of such
 ill faith," remarks Mr. Hallam,
 "accumulated as they are through
 the life of Charles, render the as-
 sertion of his sincerity a proof
 either of historical ignorance, or
 of a want of moral delicacy."
 Const. Hist. i. 535.

^e "By one and the same thing,"
 said Sir Thomas Wentworth, who
 played the part of a patriot during
 this parliament, "have King and
 people been hurt, and by the

same must they be cured. To
 vindicate, what? new things?—no!
 our ancient vital liberties, by re-
 inforging the ancient laws made
 by our ancestors, by setting forth
 such a character of them, as no
 licentious spirit shall dare to enter
 upon them; and shall we think
 this a way to break a parliament?"
 The same sentiment was expressed
 by Sir Robert Philips, a purer
 patriot than Wentworth. "The
 kings of England," said he, "were
 never more glorious, than when
 they trusted their subjects. Let
 us make all haste to do the errand
 for which we came: let the house
 consider to prepare our grievances
 fit for his Majesty's view, not to
 make a law to give us new lib-
 erties, but declaratory, with respec-
 tive penalties; so that those
 which violate them, if they would
 be vile, they should fear infamy
 with men: and then we shall
 think of such a supply as never a
 prince received, and with our
 monies we shall give him our
 hearts, and give him a new peo-
 ple raised from the dead." Rush-
 worth, 496. 500.

the chapels of Catholic ambassadors might be prevented, and that means might be taken to educate the children of the papists in the protestant faith. —
CHARLES I.
The intolerance of such requests reflects indelible disgrace upon the age, which no reasoning can extenuate, or sophistry elude. But the King consented to the whole, and recommended the last to the especial and immediate attention of his Parliament. "His Majesty doth well approve it," said Charles, with his usual insincerity, "as a matter of necessary consideration; and, the Parliament now sitting, he recommendeth to both houses the preparation of a fitting law to that effect."^f

^f Rushworth, 512. It is foreign from my object to do more than just refer to the temper of the House and nation towards the adherents of the Romish Church. Yet I should do injustice to my own feelings if I did not express an indignant remonstrance against the principles which were assumed, and the spirit which was evinced, in their barbarous treatment. Even the genius of Milton, omnipotent as it usually was, vainly struggles to reconcile the policy observed towards them, with the principles of religious liberty. "We do not admit of the popish sect, so as to tolerate papists at all," says the immortal bard, and still more illustrious patriot, "for we do not look upon that as a religion, but rather as a hierarchical tyranny, under a

cloak of religion, clothed with the spoils of the civil power, which it has usurped to itself, contrary to our Saviour's own doctrine." *Preface to The Defence of the People of England.* If opinions are the proper subjects of human legislation, religious liberty is a farce, and can exist only in name; or if the rights of one generation may be wrested from them, in punishment of the delinquencies of another, who shall be eligible to civil trust? Let men be held responsible to human judgment for their actions, but be referred in all other matters, to the tribunal of an omniscient God. The adoption of this rule would go far to exempt religion from the disastrous influences of state patronage.

CHAPTER II.

Arbitrary principles of the Court Clergy—Declaration of the Commons against Manwaring—His sentence—Promoted by the King—Remonstrance of Parliament against Bishops Neile and Laud—Growing power of Laud—Prohibition of the Calvinistic Controversy—Eliot's speech against it—Resolution of the Commons in favour of Calvinism—Against Innovations—Dissolution of Parliament, and Arrest of the Popular Leaders—Their sentence—Subsequent history of Sir John Eliot—His Letter to John Hampden—His Death and Character—Laud and Wentworth the Advisers of Charles—Early History of the former—His Ecclesiastical Policy—Its delusive success—Proclamation of the King against Parliaments.

CHAP. II. GREAT danger threatened the Constitution at this time from the arbitrary principles which were inculcated by the Court Clergy. They entered warmly into the views of the Monarch and his advisers ; and displayed, in its most repulsive form, the secular and parasitical spirit, which a state establishment of religion has been found so invariably to foster. Regardless of popular rights, they pandered to the despotism of the King, by endeavouring to bind the conscience of their hearers in the trammels of a false and pernicious theology. The authority of the Monarch was represented as paramount to all laws ; and the privileges of the subject, as but so

Arbitrary
principles
of the Court
Clergy.

many gratuitous expressions of his benignity.^a CHAP. II.

The first parliament of this reign had manifested its displeasure against these volunteers in the cause of despotism, by the proceedings adopted against Montague; and another was now summoned to its bar, to answer for similar delinquencies. In the midst of the ferment excited by the illegal exactions of the king, during the summer of 1627, it fell to the lot of Dr. Roger Manwaring, rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, to preach before the Court at Whitehall. On this occasion, he inculcated doctrines obviously foreign from the English Constitution, and utterly subversive of popular right.^b This sermon, with another of a similar kind, was published at the special command of the King, under the title of "Religion and Allegiance."^c

The Commons were highly indignant at the blow thus insidiously aimed at the laws which they were

CHARLES
I.

Declaration
of the Com-
mons against
Manwaring.

^a Even Clarendon, their apologist and defender, while speaking in exaggerated terms of their general merits, is compelled to say, when alluding to the Court, "It cannot be denied but there was sometimes preached there matter very unfit for the place, and very scandalous for the persons who presumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own profession, and *in ordine ad spiritualia*, gave unto Caesar what Caesar refused to receive, as not belonging to him." Hist. of Rebellion, I. 136. What these things were, which the Clergy tendered and the Monarch refused, the historian has not mentioned. It would be difficult to specify the particulars in which the practice of the latter was not in harmony with the theory of the former.

^b Manwaring maintained "That

the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command, in imposing loans and taxes without common consent in parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of eternal damnation. That those who refused to pay this loan, offended against the law of God, and the King's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion: and that the authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies; and that the slow proceedings of such great assemblies, were not fitted for the supply of the State's urgent necessities, but would rather produce sundry impediments to the just designs of princes." Rushworth, 427.

^c Parl. Hist. ii. 416.

CHAP. II. SWORN TO DEFEND.

—
CHARLES I. The subject was introduced on the third of June; and a declaration against the preacher was subsequently presented to the Lords, which Mr. Pym supported in one of those clear and masterly expositions of constitutional law, which rendered him so formidable an opponent to the Court. “The circumstances of aggravation annexed to this cause,” said Mr. Pym, “are these. The first, from the place where these sermons were preached; the Court, the King’s own family, where such doctrine was before so well believed, that no man needed to be converted. Of this there could be no end, but either simoniacial, by flattery and soothing to make way for his own preferment, or else extreme malicious, to add new afflictions to those who lay under his Majesty’s wrath, disgraced and imprisoned, and to enlarge the wound which had been given to the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

“The second, was from the consideration of his holy function. He is a preacher of God’s holy word; and yet he had endeavoured to make that which was the only rule of justice and goodness, to be the warrant for violence and oppression. He is a messenger of peace; but he had endeavoured to sow strife and dissension, not only amongst private persons, but even betwixt the King and his people, to the disturbance and danger of the whole State. He is a spiritual father; but, like that evil father in the gospel, he hath given his children stones instead of bread—instead of flesh he hath given them scorpions.”

HIS SENTENCE. The doctor was ultimately sentenced to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House, to be

fined a thousand pounds, to make such submission CHAP. II.
as should be required by a Committee of the House, CHARLES
to be suspended from his ministry for three years,^{I.}
and to be for ever disabled for holding any ecclesiastical
dignity, or secular office, and from preaching
at Court.^d

During the sitting of Parliament, the King pro- Promoted by
fessed to disapprove of the opinions which Mawaring had advocated, but no sooner was it pro-
rogued than he received the royal pardon, and was
rewarded for his zeal with the rectory of Stamford
Rivers, in Essex, which he was permitted to hold
with his former living in London. Some years
afterwards he was raised to the Episcopal bench.^e
By such promotions Charles sufficiently expressed
his contempt of the Parliament, and invited the
unprincipled of all classes to lend themselves to his
nefarious schemes.

This Parliament, also, sought to repress the growth of Arminianism, which it deemed conducive to Popery, and unfriendly to the liberties of the nation. Bishops Neile and Laud were the great patrons of this politico-theology, and were named in a remonstrance, presented by the Commons to the King, a few days before their prorogation, as persons unsound in their opinions, and consequently unfit for promotion.^f But Charles was not to be

^d Rushworth, 593, 601, 604, 612. Parl. Hist. ii, 388, 410.

^e Rushworth, 647. Parl. Hist. ii, 379, 435.

^f After referring to the Papists, the remonstrance proceeds, "The hearts of your good subjects are no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and

Remon-
strance of
Parliament
against
Bishops Neile
and Laud.

spreading of the faction of the Arminians, that being, as your Majesty well knows, but a cunning way to bring in popery; and the professors of those opinions, the common disturbers of the Protestant churches, and incendiaries in those states wherein they have gotten any head, being Protestants in show,

CHAP. II. advised by his Parliament. The displeasure of the national representatives was the surest passport to

CHARLES I. his favour; and Laud was consequently preferred to the see of London, within a month of the presentation of the Commons' charge against him.^g Montague, and others of the same school, were also about this time distinguished by the patronage of the ill-judging and impolitic King. The Monarch probably designed, by these promotions, to bind a servile Clergy to his service; and to show to his Parliament, that his policy was too fixed, and the character of his mind too decided, to be influenced by their votes. The former of these objects he effected without any advantage to his cause; while the latter only awakened the contempt and indignation of men who knew the insincerity and weakness of his character. The violence and impolicy of such a course admit of no extenuation. Even Hume is compelled to remark, "There is nothing which tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the Commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles as were altogether incompatible with a limited government."^h

but Jesuits in opinions. Who, notwithstanding, [the King's proclamation] are much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends, even of the Clergy near to your Majesty, namely Doctor Neile, Bishop of Winchester, and Doctor Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly suspected to be unsound in their opinions that way. And it being now generally held the way to preferment and promotion in the Church, many scholars do bend the course of their studies to maintain those errors; their books

and opinions are suffered to be printed and published, and on the other side the imprinting of such as are written against them, and in defence of the orthodox church, are hindered and prohibited, and (which is a boldness almost incredible) this restraint of orthodox books, is made under colour of your Majesty's formerly mentioned proclamation, the intent and meaning whereof we know was quite contrary." Rushworth, 631.

^g Heylin's Laud, 184.

^h Hist of Eng. vi. 187

The assassination of Buckingham, at this time, CHAP. II. made way for the increased influence of Laud. A ————— CHARLES I. capricious master was thus removed out of his path, and the ambitious ecclesiastic did not neglect to improve the opportunity it supplied. Never was monarch more ill-fated in his advisers than Charles. The vain, self-willed, and arbitrary Buckingham was succeeded in the King's confidence by the low-minded and superstitious Laud, whose fierce intolerance, and savage despotism, did more to alienate the people's affections from the King's government, than any other circumstance of his reign. "He was before," says Heylin, speaking of Laud's promotion, "but an inferior minister in the ship of state, and had the trimming of the sails, the super-inspection of the bulgings and leakings of it. Now he is called unto the helm, and steers the course thereof by his sage directions."¹

One of the first acts of Laud, after his promotion, was to procure from the King a declaration to be prefixed to the thirty-nine articles, the design of which was to stifle the Calvinistic controversy, by forbidding all discussion on the controverted points. "The articles of the Church of England," said the King, "do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's word; which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles. All Clergymen are therefore required to avoid curious inquiries into these topics, on which differences exist, and to abstain from putting their

¹ Life of Laud, 187.

CHAP. II. own sense or comment on any of the Articles."^k

CHARLES Like the proclamation of 1626, the wording of this

I. declaration was apparently in favour of the Calvinistic, as the most generally received interpretation of the Articles. But the administrators of the law availed themselves of the power it conferred for party purposes; and Arminian books were consequently licensed, while those of their opponents were suppressed.^l

Sir John
Eliot's speech
against it.

This led to warm debates in the ensuing session of Parliament, in which most of the leading members took part. "If," said Sir John Eliot, who was about to be sacrificed to the cold-hearted despotism of Charles, and the vindictive spirit of his new Minister, the apostate Wentworth, "there be any difference of opinions concerning the sense and interpretations of them, (the Articles) the Bishops and Clergy in convocation have a power admitted to them, to do any thing which shall concern the continuance and maintenance of the truth professed; which truth being contained in these articles, and

^k Life of Laud, 189.

^l Feb. 11th, 1629, a Petition was presented to the Commons from the booksellers and printers of London, "complaining," says Rushworth, "of the restraint of books written against Popery and Arminianism, and the contrary allowed of by the only means of Dr. Laud, Bishop of London; and that divers of the printers and booksellers have been sent for by pursuivants, for printing books against Popery; and that licensing is only restrained to the Bishop of London, and his Chaplains." Collections, i. 667. Parl. Hist. ii. 463.

Oliver Cromwell's name first occurs in the debates of the

Commons, on the day when this petition was presented. He was one of the Committee appointed by the House, to inquire into the pardon granted by the King since the last session, to persons under the displeasure of Parliament. His observations were few, but sufficiently indicative of the temper of his mind towards the rulers of the Church. After complaining of the favour granted to such of the Clergy as were popishly inclined, he asked, with his accustomed shrewdness and strong sense, "If these be the steps to Church preferment, what may we expect?" Rushworth, i. 667.

these articles being different in the sense, if there be any dispute about that, it is in them to order which way they please; and, for aught I know, Popery and Arminianism may be a sense introduced by them, and then it must be received. Is this a slight thing, that the power of religion must be drawn to the persons of those men? I honour their professions, and honour their persons; but, give me leave to say, the truth we profess is not man's, but God's; and God forbid that men should be made to judge of that truth. Look upon the conclusion they have made, and from thence I draw their argument. I remember a character I have seen in a diary of Edward VI., that young prince of famous memory, wherein he doth express the condition of the Bishops and Clergy in his time; and saith, under his own hand-writing, 'that some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government;' Sir, I hope it is not so with us, nay, give me leave to vindicate the honour of those men that openly show their hearts to the truth. There are amongst our Bishops such as are fit to be made examples to all ages, who shine in virtue like those two faithful witnesses in Heaven, of whom we may use that eulogy which Seneca did of Caius, that to their memories and merits 'Nec hoc quidem obstet quod nostris temporibus nati sint,' and to whose memories and merits I may use the saying, That the others' faults are no prejudice to their virtues; who are so industrious in their works, that I hope posterity shall know there are men that are firm for the truth. But, Sir, that all now are not so free, sound, and orthodox in religion, as

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. II. they should be, witness the men complained of ;
 —————— and you know what power they have ; witness those
 CHARLES I. men nominated lately, Mr. Montague, &c. I reverence the order, I honour not the man ; others may be named as bad. I apprehend such fear, that should it be in their power, we may be in danger to have our whole religion overthrown. But I give this for testimony, and thus far do express myself against all the power and opposition of these men ; or whensoever any opposition shall be, I trust we shall maintain the religion we profess, for in that we have been born and bred ; nay, Sir, if cause be, in that I hope to die.”^m

Resolution of
the Commons
in favour of a
Calvinistic in-
terpretation of
the Articles.

Jan. 29.

The sentiments of the House were embodied in the following resolution, passed on the twenty-ninth of January. “ We, the Commons, now in Parliament assembled, do claim, profess, and avow, for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established in parliament in the reign of our late Queen Elizabeth, which, by public act of the Church of England, and by the general and concurrent exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered to us ; and we do reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, wherein they differ from us.”ⁿ

Against in-
novations,&c.
March 2.

All hope of accommodating the differences between the King and his Parliament were now abandoned. The former was determined to secure the agents of his illegal practice from the censure of the latter ; who evinced a corresponding resolution to be faithful to the high trust with which they were honoured. The Speaker refused to put the question

^m Parl. Hist. ii. 452.

ⁿ Rushworth, i. 661. Parl. Hist. ii. 454.

which was before the House, alleging his Majesty's CHAP. II. command ; and was forcibly detained in it while they voted, " That whosoever should bring in innovation of religion, Popery or Arminianism, and any that should advise the taking of tonnage and poundage, not granted by parliament, and that should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom."^o These resolutions were passed on the second of March, when the House adjourned to the tenth, on which day it was dissolved.

The closing speech of the King was pettish and undignified. He commended the Lords, but passionately reflected on the Commons, terming their leaders vipers, and forewarning them of their coming doom.^p Warrants were immediately issued to nine Members of the late Parliament, amongst whom were Selden, Eliot, and Hollis, requiring their appearance before the Privy Council. Four of them obeyed the summons; and, refusing to answer out of Parliament for what they had done in it, were committed to the Tower. A proclamation was issued for the apprehension of the rest, who were subsequently committed to different prisons.^q Informations were exhibited against them in the Star Chamber ; and, on their demanding, in conformity with the Petition of Right, to be discharged on bail, they were removed to other prisons by the King.^r Judgment was ultimately given against them in the Court of King's Bench, That they should be imprisoned during the King's pleasure ; Sir John Eliot in the Tower, and the others in dif-

Dissolution
of the Parlia-
ment, and
arrest of
the popular
leaders.

Their
sentence.

^o Whitelock, 12. Parl. Hist. ii. 491. Rushworth, i. 670.

^p Parl. Hist. ii. 492.

^q Rushworth, i. 671. White-
lock, 12.
^r Whitelock, 13.

CHARLES I. ferent prisons, that none of them should be liberated without an acknowledgment of his offence, and security for his good behaviour; and that Sir John Eliot, as “the greatest offender and ringleader,” should be fined £2000, Mr. Hollis 1000 marks, and Mr. Valentine £500.^s It is needless to comment on so atrocious a proceeding. It stamped the character and administration of the King with the deepest infamy, for it showed him to be alike regardless of his honour and regal duty. To defend his reputation, or to advocate his measures after so shameless a violation of the Petition of Right, is to incur the charge of gross ignorance, or of an utter contempt of all moral obligations.

Subsequent history of Sir John Eliot.

The subsequent history of Sir John Eliot possesses all the interest of a romance. It is not exceeded, in the development of high principle and heroic fortitude, by any tale in ancient or modern times. He had evidently contemplated, from the commencement of this reign, the probability of such a termination of his patriotic life. He had read the character of Charles from the first, and knew that there was neither generosity nor justice in his heart. Laud he had uniformly opposed, as the despoiler of religion and the enemy of his country; and the pseudo-patriotism of Wentworth, now a baron of the realm and president of the North, had always been regarded by him with more than suspicion. From such a monarch, aided by such counsellors, Eliot had nothing to expect. Yet he

^s Rushworth, i. 701.

^t Before the meeting of Charles's second parliament, he assigned over his extensive estates to some

relatives, in trust for his family. Life of Eliot—British Statesmen, ii. 38.

spurned, with virtuous indignation, the freedom CHAP. II.
 which was proffered him on condition of his tender-
 ing an acknowledgment of guilt. He was removed
 from one apartment of the Tower to another, and
 the rigour of his imprisonment was steadily in-
 creased. At length his health rapidly declined ;
 but his brutal oppressors, instead of being moved to
 pity, were solicitous to hasten the deadly malady
 which preyed on his frame. His friends were
 prohibited from visiting him ; and, though he was
 sinking in a consumption, and the season was
 wintry, and his prison damp, he was scarcely al-
 lowed the comfort of a fire.^a Towards the close of
 1632, a motion was made to the Judges of the King's
 Bench, that as his physicians were of opinion he
 could never recover from his consumption, unless
 he breathed purer air, "they would for some certain
 time grant him his enlargement for the purpose." Richardson, the Chief Justice, however, replied,
 "that although Sir John were brought low in body,
 yet was he as high and lofty in mind as ever, for he
 would neither submit to the King, nor to the justice
 of that Court." He was, therefore, referred to the

^a This description of Eliot's treatment is fully borne out, by the following letter of the dying patriot, to his friend John Hampden, bearing date December 26, 1631. "That I write not to you any thing of intelligence will be excused, when I do let you know that I am under a new restraint, by warrant from the King, for a supposed abuse of liberty, in admitting a free resort of visitants, and, under that color, holding consultations with my friends. My lodgings are removed ; and I am now where candle-light may

be suffered, but scarce fire. I hope you will think that this exchange of places makes not a change of mind. The same protection is still with me, and the same confidence; and these things can have end by him that gives them being. None but my servants, *hardly my son*, may have admittance to me. My friends, I must desire, for their own sakes, to forbear coming to the Tower. You among them are chief, and have the first place in this intelligence." Forster's Eliot, p. 115.

CHARLES
 L.

CHAP. II. monarch ; but, knowing that it was hopeless to
CHARLES petition, without a confession of guilt, Eliot re-

I. sumed the occupation with which he had long sought to relieve the dreariness of his prison. This was the composition of a philosophical treatise, entitled “The Monarchy of Man,” in which the independence of his mind, and its control over the passions and infirmities of his nature, are exhibited with an admirable combination of philosophical acuteness and strong practical sense. Having concluded this treatise, his health sank rapidly, when the importunity of friends prevailed with him to petition the King. Mr. Forster has given the following account of his applications, in a letter from Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering. “He first,” says the letter-writer, “presented a petition to his Majesty, by the hand of the lieutenant his keeper, to this effect. ‘Sir, your judges have committed me to prison here, in your Tower of London, where, by reason of the quality of the air, I am fallen into a dangerous disease. I humbly beseech your Majesty you will command your judges to set me at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh air,’ &c. Whereunto his Majesty’s answer was, ‘It was not humble enough.’ Then Sir John sent another petition, by his own son, to the effect following :—‘Sir, I am heartily sorry I have displeased your Majesty, and, having so said, do humbly beseech you once again to command your judges to set me at liberty, that when I have recovered my health, I may return back to my prison, there to undergo such punishment as God hath allotted unto me,’ &c. Upon this the Lieutenant came and expostulated with him, saying, It

was proper to him, and common to none else, to do CHAP. II.
 that office of delivering petitions for his prisoners. —
 And if Sir John, in a third petition, would humble
 himself to his Majesty, in acknowledging his fault
 and craving pardon, he would willingly deliver it,
 and made no doubt but he should obtain his liberty.
 Unto this Sir John's answer was, 'I thank you,
 Sir, for your friendly advice ; but my spirits are
 grown feeble and faint, which, when it shall please
 God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take
 it further into my consideration.' "^x

CHARLES
I.

The following letter, addressed to Hampden, was Letter to
John
Hampden. probably the last which Eliot wrote. It is too characteristic of the man, and of his friend, to be omitted. It reveals the secret of their character, by disclosing the religious impulse under which they acted. "Besides the acknowledgment of your favour, that have so much compassion on your friend, I have little to return you from him that has nothing worthy of your acceptance, but the contestation that I have, between an ill body and the air, that quarrel and are friends, as the summer winds affect them. I have these three days been abroad, and as often brought in new impressions of the cold ; yet, in body, and strength, and appetite, I find myself bettered by the motion. Cold at first was the occasion of my sickness ; heat, and tenderness, by close keeping in my chamber, has since increased my weakness. Air and exercise are thought most proper to repair it, which are the prescription of my doctors, though no physic. I thank God, other medicines I now take not, but those catholicons, and

* Life of Sir John Eliot, 119.

CHARLES
1.

CHAP. II. do hope I shall not need them ; as children learn to go, I shall get acquainted with the air ; practice and use will compass it ; and now and then a fall is an instruction for the future. These varieties He doth try us with, that will have us perfect at all parts ; and, as he gives the trial, he likewise gives the ability that will be necessary for the work ; he will supply that doth command the labour ; whose deliverings from the lion and the bear, has the Philistine also at the dispensation of his will, and those that trust him, under his protection and defence. O infinite mercy of our Master, dear friend, how it abounds to us, that are unworthy of his service. How broken, how imperfect, how perverse and crooked are our ways in obedience to him ! How exactly straight is the line of his providence to us, drawn out through all the occurrents and particulars, to the whole length and measure of our time ; how fearful is his hand, that has given his Son unto us, and with him hath promised likewise to give us all things, relieving our wants, sanctifying our necessities, preventing our dangers, freeing us from all extremities, and died himself for us. What can we render ? what retribution can we make, worthy so great a majesty—worthy such love and favour ? We have nothing but ourselves, who are unworthy above all ; and yet that, as all other things, is his ; for us to offer up that, is but to give him of his own, and that in far worse conditon than we at first received it, which yet, (for infinite is his goodness for the merits of his Son), he is contented to accept. This, dear friend, must be the comfort of his children ; this is the physic we must use in all our sickness and extremities ; this is the strength-

ening of the weak, the enriching of the poor, the CHAP. II.
 liberty of the captive, the health of the diseased, the
 life of those that die, the death of that wretched life
 of sin ; and this happiness have his saints. The
 contemplation of this happiness has led me almost
 beyond the compass of a letter ; but the haste I use
 unto my friends, and the affection that does move
 it, will, I hope, excuse me. Friends should com-
 municate their joys ; this as the greatest, therefore
 I could not but impart unto my friend, being
 therein moved by the present expectation of your
 letters, which always have the grace of much in-
 telligence, and are happiness to him that is truly
 yours, J. E.”^y

CHARLES
I.

Eliot was released from his sufferings and im-
 prisonment on the 27th of November, 1632. His
 son requested permission to carry his body into
 Cornwall, his native county ; but the King replied,
 with his accustomed want of all true nobility of
 feeling, “ Let Sir John Eliot’s body be buried in
 the church of that parish where he died.” Such
 was the end of one of the purest, most enlightened,
 and devout of English patriots. His character has
 risen in the estimation of his countrymen, in exact
 proportion as his actions, and the tenor of his life,
 have become known. His fame has survived the
 slanders which the malevolence of party-writers has
 invented ; and is now regarded as the property of
 the nation, and the honour of his age. His suffer-
 ings were not fruitless, nor was the triumph of his
 enemies forgotten. “ Faithful and brave hearts,”
 says his biographer, “ were left to remember this ;

His death and
character.

^y Vaughan’s Stuart Memorials, i. 417.

CHAP. II. and the sufferings of Eliot were not undergone in vain. They bore their part in the heat and burden of the after struggle. His name was one of its watch-words, and it had none more glorious.²²

Laud and
Wentworth
the advisers
of Charles.

It was now the settled determination of the king to reign without parliaments. Laud and Wentworth were his ministers. The temporary patriotism of the latter had been assumed only to admonish the court of his power. It was so understood by the most sagacious of the king's advisers; and, his object having been obtained, he repudiated his former connexions, and became the presiding genius of that despotic system which was to supplant the constitution of his country. Of the talents of Wentworth it is scarcely possible to entertain too exalted an opinion; and they were united with an undauntedness of spirit which defied all the ordinary forms of danger, and threw contempt on the opposition and the threatenings by which he was encountered. He was consequently the most dangerous minister which Charles possessed, and would probably have gone far towards accomplishing his design, if he could have imparted to his master and coadjutors his own genius and spirit.

Early history
of Laud.

Laud was a vastly different man from his associate, infinitely beneath him in talent, and utterly destitute of those generous impulses and lofty associations which bespoke the dignified nature of Wentworth. His loyalty was not so simple and unmixed a passion. Wentworth had only one ob-

²² Forster's Life of Eliot, 223. Mr. Forster has satisfactorily vindicated Eliot from the base charge preferred against him by

Archdeacon Echard, and retailed with industrious malice by Mr. D'Israeli. Life, pp. 2—6.

ject, and that was the establishment of a pure but CHAP. II.
high-minded despotism. To this he bent all his CHARLES
I. faculties, with a foresightedness which apprized him of danger, and an energy of passion which prompted him to despise it. But Laud had an object paramount to this. The church was ever uppermost in his thoughts, and he hoped to enfranchise it from its degrading subjection to the state. His unscrupulous devotion to the king was but a means to the attainment of this end, of which he never lost sight, and in the furtherance of which he endeavoured to employ the more commanding genius of Wentworth. His entrance on public life was unpromising, and his progress slow. The part which he had taken in the marriage of Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, exposed him to reproach, and operated greatly against his preferment; but, having obtained the patronage of Neile, Bishop of Durham, he was introduced by that prelate to court. James was greatly prepossessed against him, and refused for a long period to listen to the intercession of Buckingham on his behalf. This was owing probably in some measure to the influence of Arch-bishop Abbot, who disliked the popish tendencies of the aspiring ecclesiastic, and openly condemned his deviation from the doctrinal standards of the church. But Buckingham was not to be diverted from his purpose. Laud was an instrument suited to his designs; a man of mean and slavish spirit, whose services might be calculated on to any extent which the schemes of an unprincipled master required. The Lord Keeper, Williams, was consequently employed by the duke to persuade the king to appoint Laud to the vacant bishopric of

CHARLES I. CHAP. II. St. David's. His mediation was successful, and the consecration took place on the 18th of November, 1621.^a Williams conferred other favours on Laud,

^a The following dialogue which passed between the king and Williams on this occasion, does more credit to the sagacity of the former than most of the scenes in which he took a part. " Well (says the king), I perceive whose attorney you are. Stenny hath set you on. You have pleaded the man a good Protestant, and I believe it. Neither did that stick in my breast when I stopped his promotion. But was there not a certain lady that forsook her husband, and married a lord, that was her paramour? Who knit that knot? Shall I make a man a prelate, one of the angels of my church, who hath a flagrant crime upon him? Sir (says the lord-keeper very boldly), you are a good master, but who dare serve you, if you will not pardon one fault, though of a scandalous size, to him that is heartily penitent for it? I pawn my faith to you that he is heartily penitent; and there is no other blot that hath sullied his good name. Velleius said enough to justify Murena, that had committed but one fault, *Sine hoc facinore potuit videri probus.* You press well (says the king), and I hear you with patience; neither will I revive a trespass any more which repentance hath mortified and buried. And because I see I shall not be rid of you, unless I tell you my unpublished cogitations, the plain truth is, that I keep Laud back from all place of rule and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is in a good path, God be praised. I

speak not at random; he hath made himself known to me to be such a one: for when three years since I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this church of England, I gave them promise by attestation of faith made, that I would try their obedience no further about ecclesiastical affairs, nor put them out of their own way, which custom had made pleasing unto them, with any new encroachments. Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation; but I sent him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn. It seems I remembered St. Austin's rule better than he, *Ipsa mutatio consuetudinis, etiam quæ adjuvat utilitate, novitate perturbat.* Ep. 118. For all this he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform, to make that stubborn kirk stoop more to the English pattern; but I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people, but I ken the story of my grandmother, the queen regent; that after she was inveigled to break her promise made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved before, was despised of all the people. And now your importunity hath compelled me to shrive myself thus unto you, I think you are at your furthest, and have no more to say for your client. May it please you, sir, (says the lord-keeper) I will speak but this once. You have, indeed, convicted your chaplain of an attempt very audacious and very

the remembrance of which was speedily erased CHAP. II.
 from his ungrateful heart. While the patronage of ———
 the Lord Keeper was necessary to his advancement,
CHARLES
I.
 he expressed a deep sense of its value, but, when
 success had inflamed his ambition, and awakened
 his hopes, he basely sought the ruin of his bene-
 factor, in order to remove a rival from his path.
 On the 20th of June, 1626, he was nominated by
 Charles to the see of Bath and Wells, whose favour
 was further shown in the following October, by
 appointing him dean of the Royal Chapel, and by
 intimating to him, through the duke of Bucking-
 ham, that he should be the successor of Abbot in
 the primacy of the church.^b He was translated to
 the see of London on the 15th of July, 1628, in
 order that he might more effectually repress the
 puritan faction, and bring the church to a uni-
 formity.^c

unbecoming ; my judgment goes
 quite against his. I am assured
 he that makes new work in a
 church begets new quarrels for
 scribblers, and new jealousies in
 tender consciences. Yet I submit
 this to your sacred judgment,
 that Dr. Laud is a great and
 tractable wit. He did not well
 see how he came into this error ;
 but he will presently see the way
 how to come out of it. Some
 diseases, which are very acute,
 are quickly cured. And is there
 no whoe but you must carry it ?
 (said the king). Then take him
 to you ; but on my soul you will
 repent it : and so went away in
 anger, using other fierce and
 ominous words, which were di-
 vulged in the court, and are too
 tart to be repeated.”—Hackett’s
 Life of Williams, 64.

^b Diary, 36.

^c Heylin acquaints us with the
 motives of the king in this trans-
 lation. “He looked upon Lon-
 don,” says this party scribe, “as
 the retreat and receptacle of the
 grandees of the puritan faction ;
 the influence which it had, by
 reason of its wealth and trading,
 on all parts of the kingdom ; and
 that upon the correspondence and
 conformity thereof, the welfare of
 the whole depended : no better
 way to make them an example of
 obedience to the rest of the sub-
 jects, than by placing over them
 a bishop of such parts and power
 as they should either be unable to
 withstand, or afraid to offend.”—
 Life of Laud, 174.

CHAP. II. The character and theological position of Laud have been severely debated. The admirers of his policy have portrayed them in flattering colours, while his opponents, in their indiscriminate censures, have failed to trace those nice distinctions, the perception of which is requisite to a due appreciation of the man. The charge of popery was frequently preferred against him by his contemporaries. It is found in the records of parliament, as well as in the writings of theological disputants. It was maintained by several members of his own church, and was reiterated by the puritans with an accumulation of evidence which might well impose on common minds. Yet an impartial investigation of the case proves that the charge was but partially true. Educated in a Protestant church, he evinced a singular tendency of faith towards the doctrines of the papacy, and substituted for the simpler rites of the former, the gorgeous decorations and superstitious observances of the latter. His habitual aim was to approximate the doctrine and worship of the English church to those of Rome. The language of Hooper, and Ridley, and Latimer was consequently abandoned, and the church of Rome was spoken of as the mother church, which retained the faith once delivered to the saints, notwithstanding her partial corruptions. The communion table was turned into an altar, and a crucifix was frequently placed over it; pictures were set up or repaired, the apparel of the clergy was rendered more gaudy, and mystical rites were introduced in the consecration of ecclesiastical edifices.^d

CHARLES I.

His ecclesiastical policy.

^d Heylin glories in the alteration which had taken place in the church. "If," he says, "you will take her character from the

Laud was the great patron of these innovations, CHAP. II.
 as well as of those doctrinal approximations to CHARLES
 Rome which were advocated by Andrews, Montague, and others. There was scarcely any doctrine of the papacy which did not find its advocates amongst the bishops who constituted the party of Laud ; and he himself, on innumerable occasions, evinced an entire accordance with their views. The invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, auricular confession, and a doctrine respecting the sacrament scarcely distinguishable from transubstantiation, found a ready and zealous advocacy on the part of the romanizing clergy of this faction.

Such was the opinion of Laud's protestantism at Rome, that a cardinal's hat was tendered him on the very day he received intelligence of Abbot's death. Though he did not accept it, his refusal must have been faltering and half-hearted, as the offer was renewed a few days afterwards, and is noticed in his diary in terms which sufficiently bespeak the vacillating state of his mind.^e His true

pen of a Jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst many falsehoods, these undoubted truths ; viz. that the professors of it, they especially of greatest worth, learning, and authority, love, temper, and moderation ; that the doctrines are altered in many things ; as, for example, the *Pope not Antichrist*, *pictures*, *free-will*, *predestination*, *universal grace*, *inherent righteousness*, *the preferring of charity before knowledge*, *the merit (or reward rather) of good works* ; the thirty-nine *articles* seeming patient, if not ambitious also of some Catholic sense ; that their churches

begin to look with a new face, their walls to speak a new language, and some of their divines to teach, that *the church hath authority in determining controversies of faith, and interpreting the Scriptures* ; that men in talk and writing use willingly the once fearful names of *priests* and *altars*, and are now put in mind, that for exposition of Scripture they are by canon bound to follow the fathers."—Life of Laud, 252.

^e His entry is as follows : " Aug. 17. Sunday. I had a serious offer made me again to be a cardinal : I was then from court ;

CHARLES I. position, in reference to the papacy, is accurately pointed out by May, in the distinction which he institutes between the court and the church of Rome.

To the former Laud was hostile, but to the latter his aversion was very limited, if it did not give place to friendship. “The doctrine of the Roman church,” says May, “was no enemy to the pomp of prelacy; but the doctrine of the court of Rome would have swallowed up all under the pope’s supremacy, and have made all greatness dependent on him; which, the archbishop conceived, would derogate too much from the king in temporals, (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the court), as it would from himself in spirituals, and make his metropolitical power subordinate, which he desired to hold absolute and independent within the realm of England, as if he had been an English pope.”^f Laud’s ambition and selfishness continued him a Protestant, when his general spirit, and the complexion of his theology, strongly inclined him to the Catholic church. Had the pope been as accommodating as himself, a compromise would probably have been effected, by which the church of England, retaining some of her peculiarities, would have been re-united to the papacy. But the course of events was unfriendly to such a scheme; and the countenance it received from Laud and

but so soon as I came thither I acquainted his Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till *Rome* were other than it is.”—Diary, 49. “It is beyond all question from this,” says Mr. Brodie, “that Laud suffered a struggle in

his own bosom; and, from his haste to acquaint the king of the circumstance, it is evident that his own answer was in some measure to depend upon his Majesty’s pleasure.”—British Empire, ii. 300.

^f Hist. of Parl. 16.

others only served to involve their protestantism in CHAP. II.
 suspicion, and to render them the objects of popular CHARLES
 detestation. The charge of popery, therefore, as I.
 preferred against Laud, is incorrect, if it is meant
 to denote an acknowledgment of the pope's su-
 premacy, and an actual reconciliation to the Ca-
 tholic church. But, if it is to be understood in
 another and more restricted sense, it may be much
 more difficult to deny its truth. In every thing but
 the accidents of his position Laud was a Catholic.
 His temper and superstition, his fondness for cere-
 mony, his zeal for the elevation of the priesthood,
 and his hard-heartedness and cruelty, all bespeak him
 the disciple of that system which reigned at Rome.
 He was out of his place in a Protestant church.
 It did not befit either his spirit or genius, but exer-
 cised on his superstitious and sanguine mind a
 deadening power from which he sought relief in
 the strange rites and gorgeous ceremonies which he
 borrowed from the papacy. Under his administra-
 tion the church of England wore the apparel and
 spoke much of the language of Rome. The doc-
 trines of her founders were rejected, and the books
 which had advocated her cause, and recorded the
 sufferings of her martyrs, were discountenanced or
 suppressed.^g

Laud devoted himself with unscrupulous zeal to its delusive
 the service of his master, and for a season his tri-
 umph was complete. His barbarous cruelty struck
 terror into his opponents, and induced an apparent
 compliance with his will. But the success of his

^g For the character and senti- Brodie's British Empire, ii. 297—
 ments of Laud, see Hallam's 308; and Harris's Charles I., 220
Constitutional Hist. ii. 85—102; —229.

CHARLES I. CHAP. II. policy was delusive. An indignant sense of wrong pervaded the public mind. The humanity and religion of the nation were outraged; and their groans, though suppressed for a season, ultimately broke out in a voice of thunder, which astonished and alarmed the superstitious and guilty minister. It is justly remarked by Welwood, that “it was in great part to the indiscreet zeal of a mitred head, that had got an ascendant over his master’s conscience and councils, that both the monarchy and the hierarchy owed afterwards their fall.”^b

Proclamation
of the king,
against par-
liaments,
March 27.

The unconstitutional policy of the king’s administration was now unblushingly avowed in a proclamation, bearing date March 27, in which the nation was informed that “howsoever his Majesty hath showed, by his frequent meeting with his people, his love to the use of parliaments; yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven his Majesty unwillingly out of that course: he shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time to his Majesty for parliaments; the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in the king’s own power.”ⁱ Such language was incapable of misconstruction. It admitted but of one interpretation, and that was sufficiently alarming to arouse the worst fears of the community. The most sagacious opponents of the court began to feel that the cause of freedom was hopeless, unless the prerogative was restrained within narrower bounds than it had recently filled.

^b Memoirs, 42.

ⁱ Rushworth, ii. 3.

CHAPTER III.

Severity of Laud's Administration—Case of Thomas Brewer—Peter Smart—Laud's hostility to the Lecturers—Instructions respecting them—Scheme for the purchase of Lay Impropriations condemned—Emigration to Massachusetts Bay—Ecclesiastical Views of the Emigrants—Their defective polity—Case of Dr. Leighton—His sentence—Popular feeling outraged—Mr. Nathaniel Bernard—Consecration of St. Catherine's Church—Case of Mr. Sherfield—Death and Character of Abbot—Republication of the Book of Sports—Its irreligious character—Pernicious influence—Enforced with various degrees of zeal.

THE evil genius of Laud was now madly bent CHAP. III.
on the aggrandizement and unity of the church; in
the promotion of which he did not scruple to em-
ploy the most unrighteous and cruel measures. The
puritan and nonconforming clergy were narrowly
watched, and no opportunity of subjecting them to
the judgment of the High Commission Court was
neglected. So early as 1626, Thomas Brewer,
a zealous minister of the Baptist persuasion, was
prosecuted in this court at the instigation of Laud,
and, being sentenced to imprisonment, was incar-
cerated till the meeting of the Long Parliament.*

CHARLES
I.

Severity of
Laud's ad-
ministration.

Thomas
Brewer.

* Brook's Puritans, ii. 444. In an account of his province, furnished by Laud to the king in

1637, is the following reference to this sufferer for conscience' sake. Speaking of the Separatists about

CHARLES I. **Peter Smart.** CHAP. III. Mr. Peter Smart, a prebendary of Durham, was also summoned before the same tribunal for a sermon he had preached, July 27th, 1628, against the superstitious and popish innovations recently introduced into the church. Of these innovations he spoke in the style of the early reformers, which gave such offence to the present rulers of the hierarchy, that he was fined £500, committed to prison, and ordered to recant; for refusing which he was fined again, deprived of his prebend, degraded from the ministry, and excommunicated, and remained a prisoner till liberated by the Long Parliament.^b

Laud's hostility towards lecturers.

Many of the clergy, who were averse from some of the terms of conformity, had hitherto found employment as lecturers or chaplains. The houses of several of the nobility and gentry afforded them refuge and occupation, and enabled them to pursue their unostentatious and useful labours without fear of molestation. They were distinguished by a strict adherence to the doctrinal articles of the

Ashford, in Kent, the archbishop says, "Two or three of their principal ringleaders, Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, have long been in prison, and it was once thought fit to proceed against them by the statute for abjuration. But I do much doubt, they are so ignorantly wilful, that they will return into the kingdom, and do a great deal more hurt before they will be again taken. And not long since, Brewer slipt out of prison, and went to Rochester and other parts of Kent, and held conventicles, and put a great many simple people, especially women, into great distempers against the church. He is taken again, and was called before the

High Commission, when he stood silent, but in such a jeering scornful manner as I scarce ever saw the like. So in prison he remains." Against this report the king wrote, "Keep those particular persons fast, until ye think what to do with the rest." Wharton's Troubles of Laud, 546.

^b Fuller, xi. 173; Brook's Puritans, iii. 90. Dr. Grey, in his *Examination* of Neal, quotes some passages from Smart's sermon, to show the "spirit of the man," i. 118. In the days of Edward they would have been deemed proof of godly zeal, but, under the popish administration of Laud, they constituted an unpardonable sin.

church, an earnest and affectionate style of preaching, a religious observance of the Sabbath, and an uncompromising opposition to the ceremonies of popery. Their popularity, as preachers, led to their appointment as lecturers in market-towns, and thus afforded them an opportunity of diffusing their religious spirit throughout extensive communities. On all these accounts they were regarded by Laud with marked displeasure, and engaged his early attention. In connexion with Harsnet, Archbishop of York, he drew up instructions, which were adopted by the king, and published under the title of *His Majesty's Instructions to the most Reverend Father in God, George, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several bishops in his province.* The fifth article of these instructions pertains to lecturers, "for whom," says the king, "we give these special directions :"

Instructions
respecting
them, Dec.
1629.

1. That in all parishes the afternoon sermons be turned into catechising, where there is not some great cause to break this ancient and profitable order.
2. That every lecturer read divine service, in his surplice, before his lecture.
3. That where a lecture is set up in a market-town, it be read by grave and orthodox divines, residing in the same diocese, and that they preach in gowns, and not in cloaks, as too many do use.
4. That no lecturer, though appointed by a corporation, be permitted to preach till he profess his willingness to take upon him a living with cure of souls.

CHAP. III. The bishops are further commanded to watch, by
CHARLES their emissaries, the sermons of the lecturers and

I. preachers, and not to suffer any under the rank of nobility to retain chaplains in their houses.^c Abbot was compelled to forward these instructions to his bishops, but was far from approving of them. He saw their tendency, and was solicitous to retain the services of men who, though averse from subscription, were the fastest friends of Protestantism. He consequently restored some whom his archdeacon had suspended, and did his utmost to encourage the ministerial diligence which Laud was so solicitous to restrain.^d The

^c Rushworth, ii. 30; Heylin's Laud, 199.

^d Heylin, 201. The puritan clergy were distinguished by a laborious discharge of the duties of their station. They acted like men who felt themselves to be accountable to God for the religious instruction of their hearers. Hence their zeal and success as preachers. They threw their whole heart into the discharge of their ministerial functions, and neglected no means by which they could hope to benefit their fellow-men. Their adversaries, in the bitterness of their spleen, represented them as neglectful of the more quiet and unobtrusive modes of religious instruction. Because they opposed a substitution of catechising for preaching, on which Laud and his associates were intent, they have been described as men of pride, intent only on the exhibition of themselves, and utterly regardless of the spiritual welfare of their hearers. As though it were not possible that they should have maintained the importance of preaching, and have been at the same time diligent in training

up the young in an enlightened acquaintance with the truth of God. It is only necessary to look into the biographies, or to read the practical writings, of the puritan clergy, to learn that they were as superior to their opponents, in the diligence with which they catechised the young, as in the zeal and earnestness with which they preached the word of life. They were unwilling to abandon that means of conversion which Christ had appointed, and which his apostles had employed with such mighty efficacy, though they were amongst the foremost and the most diligent in employing every other instrument which was adapted to break down the power of sin, or to pre-occupy the youthful mind with the lessons and spirit of the gospel of Christ. Their adversaries undervalued preaching, and would gladly have supplanted it by a system of forms, which, destitute of life, would have had no power over the evil passions of the human heart. The slander of a by-gone age, which every candid man despises, has been recently retailed by Mr. Lawson, the bit-

latter knew neither prudence nor moderation in his CHAP. III. government of the church. The ministers and ^{CHARLES}
_{I.} lecturers in and about London were summoned to appear before him, when the necessity of obedience to the king's instructions was urgently enforced. He also sent letters to the archdeacons of his diocese, requiring an exact account of the manner in which the instructions were obeyed. Many lecturers were in consequence silenced, and other ministers, who had preached against Arminianism and the new ceremonies, were suspended or deprived.^e Throughout his career Laud had evinced an unrelenting and merciless disposition, but his recent elevation to the see of London afforded him a fuller opportunity for its development. He had evidently proposed to himself the worst models which the history of his intolerant church supplied, if he had not determined to emulate the ferocious inquisitors

terness of whose zeal is only equalled by the abject servility of his doctrines. Referring to the king's instructions respecting lecturers, he says: "Preaching was the grand resort of the puritans, as it was of the regulars; in many cases the worship of God was sacrificed to a gratification of their rhetorical propensities; and, stimulated as they were, by a violent opposition towards the church, their effusions abounded with their individual opinions. They forgot that the sermon is *no part of public worship*, that it is the least of all the other important duties of a faithful minister; and they excited in the populace that desire for hunting after novelties, which is one great feature of schismatical separations. Hence, their votaries disregarded the very essentials of Christianity, and placed their sole dependence on

the compositions of the orator. With them it was not he who was the most moderate, diligent, and pious, but he who made the greatest noise, who displayed the greatest apparent fervour and gesticulation, whose *pedestris copia* was most agreeable to their enthusiasm, and who declaimed against and denounced the regular clergy, that was certain of popular applause. In this there is a striking resemblance to the religionists of the present day, who are continually on the search after novelty, who seem to place their faith on the sentiments of their favourite orator, and who delight in gaudy parade, fulsome compliment, and vain ostentation, in certain public assemblies." Lawson's Life of Laud, i. 498.

^e Rushworth, ii. 31; Neal, ii. 180.

CHARLES I. CHAP. III. of Spain. He now gave an earnest of the deeper atrocities he was speedily to perpetrate, and rendered himself the object of popular odium so deep-rooted and enduring, that even contempt itself could not save him from the block.

Scheme for
the purchase
of lay impro-
priations con-
demned.

His policy was further shown in his efforts to suppress a scheme formed about 1627, by some gentlemen and ministers, to buy up such impropriations as were in the hands of laymen, in order to employ the income resulting from them in the promotion of lectureships throughout the country. Many market towns and other places were lamentably destitute of the means of religious instruction, and there appeared to be no other mode of supplying their wants than by some such voluntary scheme as was now projected. An equal number of divines, lawyers, and citizens were appointed, under the name of feoffees, to receive and disburse the monies raised. Considerable sums were thus obtained, with which thirteen impropriations were bought, the proceeds of which were distributed in salaries of forty or fifty pounds amongst a number of diligent and faithful preachers.^f The undertaking did not long escape the vigilant eye of Laud, nor is it surprising that he regarded it with mistrust and jealousy. It was opposed to the whole spirit and bearing of his policy, and was therefore to be condemned under the specious pretence of danger to the church and state. Amongst the projects noted by

^f The number of feoffees was twelve. Fuller, in his quaint style, remarks, "Here were four divines to persuade men's conscience, four lawyers to draw all conveyances, and four citizens,

who commanded rich coffers, wanting nothing save (what since doth all things) some swordsmen, to defend all the rest." Church Hist. xi. 137.

Laud, at the end of his diary, which had engaged his ^{CHAP. III.} attention, and which he purposed to effect, “if God ^{CHARLES}
^{I.} bless me in them,” is the following: “To overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to church and state, going under the specious pretence of buying in impropriations.”^g To accomplish his design an information was brought into the Exchequer against the feoffees by the Attorney-General Noy. They were charged with constituting themselves an unlawful society or body corporate, for purposes prejudicial to the commonwealth, and with having employed the money entrusted to their care in a different manner from what the donors contemplated. In their reply the defendants state their conviction that “impropriations in the possession of laymen, not employed for the maintenance of preachers, was a great damage to the church of England, and that the purchasing thereof, for the maintenance of divine service and preaching, is a pious work.” They defended themselves from the charge of having misappropriated the monies entrusted to their care, and affirmed, in opposition to the statement of their enemies, “that, to their knowledge, they never presented any to any church or place in their disposition, who was not conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and approved by the ordinary of the place.”^h

^g Troubles of Laud, 68.

^h Rushworth, ii. 150. Fuller remarks, “It is said that Mr. White, one of the feoffees, privately proffered Bishop Laud, at his house in Fulham, that if he disliked either the persons who

managed, or order which they took in this work, they would willingly submit the alteration to his lordship’s discretion.” Ch. Hist. xi. 143. Laud denied any recollection of this visit and offer. Troubles, &c. 372.

CHAP. III. But the influence of Laud prevailed against them ;
CHARLES and the Court gave judgment, that their proceed-

I. ings were unlawful, that the impropriations they had purchased should be forfeited to the King, and that the penalties they had incurred should be referred to future consideration. Here the prosecution rested, as the personal integrity and religious excellence of the feoffees were above suspicion.¹ The part which Laud took in this affair sprang naturally out of his general policy, and might have been anticipated from a previous knowledge of his character. The design of the feoffees, however excellent and Christian-like, was uncanonical and alarming. It was not in harmony with the general system of the hierarchy ; but would have generated a power, friendly indeed to the advancement of religion, but dangerous to episcopal authority. As a ruler of the Church, intent on preserving the integrity of its forms, and the relative position of its different officers, Laud acted wisely in overthrowing the design ; but, as a disciple of the Christian faith, he has exposed himself to the severest charge which can be preferred. The crime which he committed in this case has been repeated in every age, by intolerant and narrow-minded priests. It is their habit to sacrifice the religious to the secular, to esteem the instruction of the ignorant, the reformation of the vicious, and the salvation of the dying,

¹ Rushworth, ii. 151. Heylin's Laud, 209. Neal, ii. 200. Laud, in his diary, remarks, under date of February 13, 1632-3, Wednesday, 'The Feoffees, that pretended to buy in impropriations, were dissolved in the Chequer Chamber. They were the main

instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church. The criminal part reserved.' Troubles of Laud, 47. In the account of his trial, he enters fully into the defence of the measures he adopted in this case. Ibid. 372, 373.

to be nothing in comparison with the maintenance CHAP. III.
 of their idle forms, and the unbroken silence of ——————
 their deserted temples. Confounding the prosperity CHARLES
 of the Church with the wealth, ease, and dignity
 of the clergy, they denounce every effort by which
 an enlightened piety seeks to rescue those whom
 their indolence is consigning to perdition. For a
 time this policy may prosper. Darkness may cover
 the earth and gross darkness the people, while the
 forms of an establishment are multiplied, and its wor-
 ship rendered more gorgeous ; but the light of truth
 must ultimately penetrate, when the false reputation
 of state priests will fade like a passing cloud, and
 their virtues be despised as the growth of supersti-
 tion, and the agents of spiritual delusion and death.

The severity of the government at length in-
 duced a large number of the Puritans and Sepa-
 ratists to emigrate to America, where they hoped
 to find a refuge from the intolerance of Protestant
 bishops. Some of their brethren had proceeded
 thither during the former reign ; and after enduring
 incredible hardships, were beginning to reap
 the fruit of their labours. Others, who had re-
 mained at home in hope of the storm subsiding,
 now determined to follow them ; and the Charter
 of Massachusetts Bay, bearing date March 4,
 1628-9, having been obtained from the Crown,
 about three hundred and fifty persons sailed from
 the Isle of Wight, May 1, 1629.^k They endured
 great hardships ; and the very existence of the
 colony was sometimes endangered by the scarcity

Emigration
 to Massachu-
 setts Bay.
 May 1, 1629.

* Neal's New England, i. 124.
 Mr. Roger Conant, and a few as-
 sociates, had proceeded thither

in 1625, but were about to relin-
 quish their undertaking when the
 new emigrants arrived. Ibid. 122.

CHARLES I. CHAP. III. of food. Eighty of them died during the first winter after their arrival ; but their numbers were recruited, in the following summer, by the arrival of the Governor, John Winthrop, Esq., and about fifteen hundred passengers, whom the persecuting spirit of Laud drove from their native country.¹

Ecclesiastical views of the Emigrants. The settlers at Massachusetts Bay were distinguished from those at Plymouth, by some shades of theological opinion. The latter were Independents, who had separated from the Church of England, and conducted divine worship in harmony with their own views ; but the former, for the most part, belonged to the more moderate class of Nonconformists, who, without seceding from the communion of the Hierarchy, acknowledged its corruptions, and earnestly sought its reform. Before their departure for America, they drew up a letter, addressed "to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England," wherein they say, "We desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we arise, our dear mother ; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk, wherewith we were

¹ Neal states the number of passengers who accompanied the Governor, and other gentlemen and ministers, to have been about two hundred ; but the whole

number which arrived during the season is that stated in the text. Knowles's Life of Roger Williams. Boston, 1834. p. 35.

nourished, but, blessing God for the parentage and CHAP. III.
 education, as members of the same body, shall —————
 always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve CHARLES
 for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and,
 while we have breath, sincerely desire and endea-
 vor the continuance and abundance of her welfare,
 with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom
 of Christ Jesus.”^m

The settlement of their ecclesiastical polity en-
 gaged their earliest attention. The main principles
 which it embraced, were precisely similar to those
 now held by the Congregational and Baptist
 Churches of England; but the following article,
 which was also adopted, betrayed their imperfect
 acquaintance with the rights of conscience, and led
 to acts of persecution which disgraced their early
 history. It is thus expressed by Hubbard, “Church
 government and civil government may very well
 stand together, it being the duty of the Magistrate
 to take care of matters of religion, and to improve
 his civil authority for the observing the duties com-
 manded in the first as well as in the second table;
 seeing the end of their office is not only the quiet
 and peaceable life of the subject, in matters of
 righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of
 godliness.”ⁿ

The Puritans had not yet been taught to trace
 their sufferings to the true source. They were
 accustomed to refer them to the personal qualities
 and official distinctions of the Episcopal Clergy,
 rather than to the evil spirit which is necessarily

^m Knowles’s Life of Roger Williams. 40.

ⁿ Ibid. 43.

CHAP. III. engendered by a State establishment of religion.

CHARLES I. Instead of requiring the magistrate and the divine to confine themselves within their respective provinces, they allowed the right of the former to regulate the functions and to enforce the decisions of the latter. This erroneous principle they carried with them to their new settlement; and, applying it to their early practices, they inflicted on others the wrongs of which themselves had complained. Their enemies did not fail to take advantage of this apparent inconsistency, while their best and most enlightened friends mourned over it, as a fatal abandonment of the only principle which is consistent with the purity, honour, and extension of the Church of Christ. Subsequent reflection and painful experience, taught them ultimately to discard the vicious doctrine which had led them astray, and to embody in their legislation those immortal principles of religious liberty, which no one of the states of Europe has yet reduced to practice.^o

^o Roger Williams was the first victim of religious persecution amongst the new settlers. He was banished from their territory, and an attempt was made to seize his person, in order that he might be returned to England. But he happily escaped to the Indians, and became the instrument of founding a new colony, in which the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience was fully and clearly recognised. Mr. Williams was the earliest assertor of religious liberty amongst the puritan settlers in America, and he suffered severely for it. His character has been greatly misunderstood, and his sentiments misrepresented. The reports of his enemies have been received, and

the unhallowed spirit of party has been permitted to influence the judgment of posterity. Neal, in his History of New England, treats his character with great injustice, retailing, apparently without examination or scruple, every idle and false report which his adversaries propagated. But his reputation has recently been vindicated by Professor Knowles, of the Newton Theological Institution, in a *Memoir*, which combines, in a remarkable degree, justice to the memory of Williams, with a candid construction of the conduct of his persecutors. It is much to be desired that this interesting volume, which throws considerable light on the early history of the Emigrants, may be given to the British public.

While they were struggling with the difficulties CHAP. III.
 of a new settlement, their brethren at home suffered under the iron sway of Laud. Dr. Alexander Leighton, having published, in October 1628, a book against the bishops, entitled *An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's plea against the Prelacie*, was seized by a warrant from the High Commission, and, without undergoing any examination, was loaded with irons and thrust into a loathsome apartment in Newgate.^p After having been confined for fifteen weeks, he was proceeded against in the Star Chamber, June the 4th, 1630, when an information was exhibited against him, for “framing, publishing, and scattering a scandalous book against King, Peers, and Prelates.” He acknowledged the fact of writing, but denied the evil intention with which he was charged, affirming that his only end was to remonstrate against the grievances under which the people laboured, “to the end that the Parliament might take them into consideration, and so give such redress as might be for the honour of the King, the quiet of the people, and the peace of the Church.” He was finally condemned to pay a fine of £10,000, and to be imprisoned during the King’s pleasure. “And in respect,” said his iniquitous

CHARLES
I.

Case of Dr.
Leighton.

^p Leighton was not without a presentiment of the treatment which his publication would receive; for, in the epistle to his reader, he observes, “If instead of entertainment, or of a legal trial, they turn again to tear this treatise, and trouble the maintainers of it, let them take heed, for by this truth here maintained they shall one day be judged: If they should also go about to in-

cense the King’s Majesty with a prejudiciale opinion of this just *Appeal*, we hope it shall plead for itself (our infirmities excused); that in uprightness of conscience we could not do him better service: yea, we are confident, if all that love the Lord (especially men of place) will do their part, we shall have our King as an *Angel of God* in this particular.

CHAP. III. judges, “ the defendant hath heretofore entered into
 CHARLES I. the ministry, and this Court, for the reverence of
 that calling, doth not use to inflict any corporal or
 ignominious punishment upon any person, so long
 as they continue in orders, the Court doth refer
 him to the High Commission, there to be degraded
 of his ministry : And that being done, he shall then
 also, for further punishment and example to others,
 be brought into the pillory at Westminster, (the
 Court sitting), and there whipped ; and, after his
 whipping, be set upon the pillory for some conve-
 nient space, and have one of his ears cut off, and
 his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a
 double S S, for *a sower of sedition* ; and shall then
 be carried to the prison of the Fleet, and at some
 other convenient time afterwards, shall be carried
 into the pillory at Cheapside, upon a market-day,
 and be there likewise whipt, and then be set upon
 the pillory, and have his other ear cut off, and from
 thence be carried back to the prison of the Fleet ;
 there to remain during life, unless his Majesty shall
 be graciously pleased to enlarge him.”^q This

^q Rushworth, ii. 56. I know nothing more weak or contemptible than Mr. Lawson’s attempt to extenuate the guilt and infamy of this sentence. It is based on falsehood ; and be-speaks a heart from which the rancour of party has banished every generous and honest emotion. Such writers only serve the party which they attempt to injure. Life of Laud, i. 515. 522. The candour and fair dealing of this inheritor of the spirit of his hero, are conspicuous throughout his work. A signal instance is supplied at pp. 533, 534, where, having falsified a reference of Mr.

Neal, he endeavours to fasten on him a charge of wilful mis-statement, in having attributed o Laud a passage detailing the punishment of Leighton. Neal was misled by Rushworth, who has inaccurately given the passage as a quotation from Laud’s Diary, Col.ii. 57. Mr. Forster, in his Life of the Earl of Strafford, has fallen into the same error, p. 316. Messrs. Bogue and Bennet, on whom also Mr. Lawson animadverts, have most strangely attributed to Laud the language of Ludlow. The source of their error I cannot divine. Hist. of Dissenters, i. 64, 2d. ed.

barbarous sentence was executed with a ferocity CHARLES I. CHAP.III. worthy of the spirit which indited it. “For upon the 26th of November, 1630,” writes a contemporary, “the censure was executed in a most cruel manner. His ears were cut, his nose slit, his face branded with burning irons; he was tied to a post, and whipped with a treble cord, to that cruel degree, that he himself, writing the history thereof ten years after, affirmed, that every lash brought away the flesh, and that he should feel it to his dying day. He was lastly put in the pillory, and kept there near two hours in frost and snow; and then, after this most barbarous usage, not permitted to return to his quarters in the Fleet in a coach provided to carry him, but compelled, in that sad condition and severe weather, to go by water. After this he was kept ten weeks in dirt and mire, not being sheltered from rain and snow. They shut him up most closely twenty-two months; and he remained a prisoner ten or eleven years, not suffered to breathe in the open air, until the Parliament of 1640 most happily delivered him.”^r

Such barbarities, practised under the cloak of Popular feeling outraged by his punishment. piety, and with an affected zeal for the honour of the King and the safety of the Commonwealth, are only to be paralleled in the annals of the Inquisition. The nation was previously disposed to denounce the ambition and cruelty of the ruling ecclesiastics, but the scene enacted in the case of Leighton, induced an abhorrence and dread of priestly domination, not to be diminished by the virtues of individual clergymen. Leighton’s zeal against episcopacy

^r Ludlow’s Letters, 45.

CHARLES I. CHAP. III. was universally regarded as his sole offence, and he was consequently esteemed a martyr on behalf of the rights of the Clergy, and the purity of the Church.^s Laud, on the other hand, was severely

^s The biographers of Laud, and the writers of the Church generally, have grounded their defence of the treatment of Leighton, on the alleged seditious and treasonable character of his publication. After a careful perusal of the *Appeal*, I am strongly of opinion that very few of its judges have troubled themselves to examine it. It is written in the style common at that period to the writers of both parties, and does not contain a particle more of virulence, and personal animosity, than may be discovered in the pages of many champions of the hierarchy. In point of learning and shrewd sense it exceeds most of the productions of its day, while the ardent and impassioned tone of its exhortations, bespeak a mind thoroughly honest in its convictions. Heylin charges Leighton with counselling the parliament "to kill all the bishops, and to smite them under the fifth rib." Life of Laud, 198. Whitelock makes the same statement, (Memorials, 14.) and Messrs. Lawson and Le Bas unscrupulously repeat it. Yet nothing of the sort is to be found in the work. On the contrary, it carefully distinguishes between the *persons* and the *calling* of the bishops. The only passage I can discover, that can be construed, by the most perverse ingenuity, into such a meaning, is the following, in which the connexion clearly shows that the hierarchy and not the bishops is spoken of, "Smite that Hazael in the fifth rib. Yea, if father or mother stand in the way, away with them we beseech you. *Nam potius pereat unus quam unitas.*

Make rather a *rotten tree* fall, than that the rotting drops thereof should kill the sheep," p. 240. Had the reference, in this passage, been to the bishops, it could not have borne the meaning imputed to it. The expression, "strike under the fifth rib," was frequently employed in Leighton's time, to denote the refutation of an argument. Thus Sir Edward Deering, speaking of Laud's book against the Jesuit Fisher, says, "His book, lately set forth, hath puzzled the Jesuit, and shall strike the Papists under the fifth rib, when he is dead and gone." Speeches, p. 3. But the *Appeal* itself sufficiently disproves the charge, as one or two extracts will show. In the epistle to the reader, Leighton says, referring to the bishops, "Though, in regard of our danger, we have used freedom of speech, we neither hate their persons, nor envy their pomp, but we wish their conversion, and safety of the state." "We verily believe," he says in another place, "that all the well-affected to state, or religion, upon the perusal of this *decade*, shall be really and fully possessed of the truth of this position, namely the *absolute necessity* of the removal of the prelacy; and that, as the prophet speaketh, *a wind to fan or to cleanse* will not serve the turn, but it must be a *full or mighty wind*, to root up and carry away the very foundation of their being. But who shall do this great work, and by what means may it be accomplished? Yea, who dare *bell* the Cat? Or where is that *spirit* that will dash the *brains* of that *Babylonish prelacy* (we mean their place) against

censured as the cause of his wrongs. His name, CHAP. III. previously unpopular, was now loathed ; and many sanguine spirits waited in silent but anxious hope for the time of retribution. In the subordinate stations of the Church, he had done his utmost to worry and injure the Puritan Clergy ; but the bitterness of his zeal now showed itself in deeds of blood, which have associated him, in the estimation of posterity, with the Bonners and Gardiners of a former age.^t

the stones." p. 196. Again, at the close of the book, he says, "We wish your honours might prevail with the prelates by fair means, to cast off that overcharging calling. . . . We fear they are like pleuritic patients, that cannot spit, whom nothing but incision will cure ; we mean of their callings, not of their persons, to whom we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they either wish to us, or to themselves. One of their desperate mountebanks, out of the pulpit, could find no cure for us (their supposed enemies) but *prieking in the bladder* : but we have not so learned Christ." pp. 343, 344.

^t In a letter to Dr. Hollingworth, published at Amsterdam, in 1692, in the name of Major General Ludlow, we are told, that when sentence was pronounced on Leighton "Laud pulled off his cap, and, holding up his hands, gave thanks to God who had given him victory over his enemies." p. 45. Neal has briefly adverted to this fact, regarding it as too notorious to require any laboured proof. The modern biographers of the Archbishop, however, Messrs. Lawson and Le Bas—the latter being in this, as in most other cases, little more than an echo of the former—have not only ventured to

deny the truth of the statement, but also to maintain, in the genuine spirit of partizanship, that Laud was not present at the trial of Leighton, and took no part in it. Great indignation is expressed at their hero being deemed capable of such atrocious conduct ; and Dr. Symmons, Mr. Neal, and others, are charged with bigotry, inveterate prejudice, and something like wilful lying, for having repeated the statement of Ludlow. It matters little—so far as the character of Laud is concerned—whether the statement of Dr. Hollingworth's opponent (whoever he may have been) is correct or otherwise, since he acted on other occasions in a way substantially similar to what is alleged in this case. When Prynne and his associates received their execrable sentence, Laud gave his colleagues "all hearty thanks," for the "just and honourable censure" which they had pronounced, and then affected, in the true spirit of an inquisitor, "to leave them to God's mercy and the King's justice."

But though little would be gained in favour of Laud, by a denial of Ludlow's statement, truth compels me to declare my conviction that the weight of evidence is against him, and that the de-

CHARLES
I.

CHARLES I. Mr. Nathaniel Bernard, lecturer at St. Sepulchre's Church, London, was another of the victims of Laud's tyranny. Having, in one of his public prayers, referred to the Queen in the following indecorous manner, "Lord, open the eyes of the Queen's Majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she hath pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry,"^a he was summoned by Laud into the High Commission Court; but after a long attendance was dismissed on making an humble submission. It was not long, however, before he was again brought into trouble. The occasion of this was a sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge, from 1 Sam. iv. 21, in which he argued against the introduction of arminianism and popish superstitions into the Church. Laud was soon in-

fence of his advocates is consequently unsatisfactory. Mr. Lawson, while affecting extraordinary research,^b commits a gross blunder in affirming, that "there is not the slightest evidence that Laud was present at the trial." i. 530. The Archbishop himself admits the fact, in his speech at the condemnation of Prynne and his associates, June 16, 1637, and thus destroys the *alibi* pleaded by his too zealous advocate. "A great trouble 'tis to them," said the Archbishop, referring to his Puritan opponents, "that we maintain that our calling of bishops is *Jure Divino*.—Of this *I have said enough, and in this place, in Leighton's case, nor will I repeat.*" Laud's Remains, ii. 68. Rushworth, ii. app. 117. Mr. Lawson garbles this passage, by omitting the personal pronoun, and then glories in the triumphant defence he has made. It would be difficult to discover, in the

whole range of polemical writings, a more unprincipled, or bare-faced procedure.

But the silence of Dr. Hollingsworth, a warm advocate of Laud, is conclusive, in my apprehension, of his guilt. Could he have denied the statement of Ludlow, he would undoubtedly have done it in the reply which he published. But he passes it over in silence, and thus emphatically admits its truth. Christian Observer, June 1837, pp. 386—391.

^a Rushworth, ii. 32. Prynne's Cant. Doome, 362, 363. The dates of the latter writer are in this case apparently the most correct. Rushworth would seem to have confounded the date when the obnoxious passage was uttered, with that of Bernard's final appearance before the Commissioners. The former was May 3, 1629; the latter, January 28, 1629-30.

formed of the affair, and Bernard was once more CHAP.III. summoned before the High Commission. He was required to make a degrading recantation of the doctrines he had advanced in his sermon ; and, on refusing to do so, though he expressed sorrow for any improprieties of expression chargeable on him, he was fined a thousand pounds, degraded from the ministry, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to prison, where he underwent great hardships, which hastened his death. “ If,” says Fuller, “ he was miserably abused therein, by the keepers, (as some have reported), to the shortening of his life, *He that maketh inquisition for blood, either hath or will be a revenger thereof.*”^x

The evil genius of Laud had now full scope for operation ; and it proceeded with an indiscretion and recklessness, which outraged common decency, and effectually counteracted his purpose. While the humanity of the nation was shocked by the cruelties which he perpetrated, its religious feelings were outraged by the superstitious mummeries which he practised. The church of St. Catherine Cree, in London, having undergone repairs, the following absurd and disgusting ceremonies were practised at its consecration. On the 16th of Jan-

CHARLES
I.

Jan. 28, 1630.

Consecration
of St. Catherine's Church,
Jan. 16, 1631.

* Rushworth, ii. 140, 142. Prynne's Cant. Doome, 363—367. Hist. of Camb. 166, 167. The last writer gives the following account of the main positions of the Sermon, in which he is fully borne out by the others. “ 1. God's ordinances, when blended and adulterated with innovations of men, ceaseth to be God's ordinances, and he owneth them no longer. 2. That it is impossible

any should be saved, living and dying without repentance in the doctrine of Rome, as the Tridentine Council hath decreed it. 3. That treason is not limited to the blood royal, but that he is a traitor against a nation that depriveth it of God's ordinances. 4. That some shamefully symbolize in Pelagian errors and superstitious ceremonies with the Church of Rome.”

CHAP.III. uary, 1630-1, Laud having approached the western door of the church, some who were appointed to CHARLES I. that office cried out with a loud voice, “Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may enter in ;” when the doors immediately flew open ; and, the bishop and attendants entering, Laud fell on his knees, and with uplifted eyes and outstretched arms exclaimed, “ This place is holy, the ground is holy ; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.” He then threw dust into the air, as he walked towards the chancel, and having approached near to the rail and communion table, he bowed towards it several times, and, returning, went in procession with his attendants round the church, repeating first the hundredth and afterwards the nineteenth psalm, closing this part of the ceremony with a prayer, at the end of which he said, “ We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee, as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use.” He then, being near the communion table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those who should afterwards profane that holy place, by musters of soldiers, or keeping profane law courts, or carrying burdens through it ; and, at the end of every curse, bowed towards the east, and said, “ Let all the people say, Amen.” After the curses followed blessings, on all who had contributed to the framing and building of that sacred and beautiful church, or who had given, or should hereafter give any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils ; and, at the close of every blessing, he bowed again to the east, and repeated the ejaculation, “ Let all the people say, Amen.” A sermon followed, after

which the bishop consecrated and administered CHAP. III.
CHARLES I. the sacrament.^y On approaching the communion table for this purpose, he made several low bows ; and, then, coming up to the side where the bread and wine stood covered, he bowed seven times ; after which, repeating many prayers, he gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, and started back as if appalled, bowed three times towards it, and, approaching again, uncovered the bread, and at the sight of it bowed as before. The same ceremony was observed with the wine.^y

Such were the mummeries practised by this low-minded and superstitious bishop, whose fidelity to Protestantism is still lauded by the zealots of the English church. They might have been suitable at Rome ; but in England they were strange and mystical signs, on which the people gazed with indignation and contempt. Laud's attachment to the symbols of popery was unvarying, and showed itself on all occasions. He not only assimilated the ceremonies of his church to those of the papacy, but protected the most absurd and impious badges of superstition which had survived the Reformation.

A remarkable instance of his attachment to the worst symbols of Romish superstition, was supplied in the case of Henry Sherfield, Esq., the recorder of Sarum. In the church of St. Edmunds, where Mr. Sherfield was accustomed to worship, there was a painted window, containing seven pictures of God the Father, in which the Deity was represented as a little old man, bare-footed, and

Case of Mr.
Sherfield.

^y Rushworth, ii. 76. Prynne's Cant. Doome, 113. The latter writer mentions other churches that

were consecrated by Laud in the same manner.

CHARLES I. CHAP. III. clothed in a long blue coat.^z Being shocked at the impiety of such a representation, he proposed, at a vestry meeting where six justices of the peace were present, that he might be allowed to take down the window, and to substitute one of plain glass in its stead. Authority was given him to do so, by virtue of which he proceeded to break some of the panes with his stick. This offence being reported to Laud, at his instigation an information was exhibited against Mr. Sherfield, in the Star Chamber, Feb. 8, 1632, which set forth, that he, “being evil affected to the discipline of the Church of England, and encouraging such as oppose the government thereof, under the reverend bishops, did irreligiously conclude to deface and pull down a fair and costly glass window in the church aforesaid, containing the history of the creation of the world ;

^z The following is the description which Mr. Sherfield gives of this painting, in his answer to the information exhibited against him in the Star Chamber. “The painter, to express God the Father, had painted the forms and pictures of divers little old men, seeming bare-footed, and clothed in long blue coats ; and so setting forth every of the six days work of God in the Creation. He had distinctly placed one such picture of an old man, made to represent the Creator of heaven and earth, in six several places ; with the joining near to them the likeness of some created thing, to denote thereby what was made on each of the six days : And to show the third day’s work, he had painted the sun and the moon, which were created the fourth day, and had placed in the hand of one of those pictures, representing God the Father, the similitude of a carpenter’s com-

pass, as if he had been compassing the sun, to give the true proportion thereof. To express the fourth day’s work, he made the likeness of fowls of the air flying up from God their Maker, whereas God created them on the fifth day. To express the fifth day’s work, he painted the similitude of a naked man lying on the earth, as it were asleep, and so much of the similitude of a naked woman as from the knees upward, seeming to grow out of the side of a man, whereas God did create man on the sixth day, neither did the woman grow out of the man’s side, but God took a rib from the man and made it a woman. To represent the seventh day’s story he painted the seventh picture of a little old man, to resemble God in the habit of the other six, but had formed it sitting, to represent God’s rest.” Rushworth, ii. 154.

which had stood there for hundreds of years, and was a great ornament to the church." Mr. Sherfield pleaded in his defence that the church was a lay fee, exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop, and under the exclusive management of the parishioners; that they had been accustomed to exercise their right; and that he was authorised in what he had done by an order of the vestry. He further pleaded the unlawfulness of making any image or similitude of God the Father, and showed by the homilies of the church, that they were monuments of superstition, and ought to be destroyed. His defence, however conclusive it may now be regarded, availed him nothing. Laud warmly defended the use of pictures in churches, and justified the one in question by a quotation from the book of Daniel, where God is called "The ancient of days." Sherfield was finally sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to be removed from his recordership, to make a public acknowledgment of his offence, and to be bound over to his good behaviour.^a

Laud now attained the primacy of the church, vacant by the death of Abbot, which occurred August 4th, 1633. The latter prelate had exercised but little authority in church affairs for some years prior to his decease. His moderation towards

CHARLES
I.

Death and
character of
Abbot.
Aug. 4, 1633

^a Rushworth, ii. 152—156. Cant. Doome, 102, 103. Heylin informs us, that one ground of the offence taken at Sherfield's conduct was, that it was "looked upon as a great discouragement to the moderate Papists from thinking favourably of our churches, or resorting to them; and to some moderate Protestants

also, in beautifying and adorning churches after such a manner as, without giving just offence, might draw the greater estimation to those sacred places." Life of Laud, 229. So solicitous were the present rulers of the Church to persuade the Papists that the hierarchy was but slightly removed from the Popedom.

CHAP. III. the puritans, and zeal against the Catholics, joined
CHARLES I. with an inflexible adherence to the proscribed doc-
trines of Calvinism, had rendered him unpopular
at court, where the influence of Laud was para-
mount. He clearly discerned and honestly de-
nounced the tendency of Laud's measures, and en-
deavoured to shield some of the offending clergy
from his severities. The course of events naturally
led him, towards the close of his life, to sympathise
with the puritans, in whose unflinching adherence
to Protestantism he saw the only hope of his
church. Heylin tells us, on the authority of a
writer whom he does not name, “That towards his
death he was not only discontented himself, but
that his house was the rendezvous of all the male-
contents in church and state, that he turned mid-
night into noon-day, by constant keeping of can-
dles lighted in his chamber and study ; as also that
such visitants as repaired unto him called them-
selves *Nicodemites*, because of their secret coming
to him by night.”^a

Clarendon describes him as “a man of very
morose manners, and a very sour aspect,” and says
that he “was in truth totally ignorant of the true
constitution of the church of England, and the
state and interest of the clergy.”^b But those who
are acquainted with the party character of his lord-
ship’s sketches, will understand his language as
meaning little more than that Abbot was opposed to
the licentiousness of his age, and refused to concur
in those measures by which his predecessor had
sought to exterminate the puritans. He had not

^a Life of Laud, 243.

^b Hist. of Rebellion, i. 156.

wholly escaped the contagious spirit of the court, CHAP. III. but the language of flattery, though occasionally employed, did not accord with the integrity of his character and life.^c He was a man of unblemished morals, of sincere piety, and of sound learning, who in the calmer and more ordinary states of society, would have commanded the respect and applause of all parties. He was sincerely attached to the church of England, though he esteemed its doctrines more important than its rites, and would cheerfully have modified the latter, to secure a general concurrence in the former. Though averse from the persecution of the puritans, his knowledge of religious liberty, and regard to the rights of conscience, were very imperfect, as was shown in his readiness to execute the barbarous laws which the fears and revenge of a former generation had enacted against the members of the papacy. Had his moderation towards the former been founded on an approval of those principles which are now generally admitted by reflecting men, he could not have failed to perceive the inconsistency of his conduct in persecuting the latter, who were equally entitled to act on their own convictions in the worship which they tendered to the Deity.^d

^c Aiken's James I., i. 368; Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 570. The truth of history required the admission made in the text. Abbot's general character was estimable; but the tainted atmosphere which he breathed was not without an injurious influence. Mr. Forster goes so far as to say, "Abbot was no better than his brother Laud, probably a little worse, since the conduct of the former (qu. 'latter') was at least

intelligible." Life of Eliot, p. 51. Few persons, however, who are acquainted with the history of the two men will concur with Mr. Forster in this judgment. Abbot had his faults, but they do not admit of comparison with the gigantic evils which were combined in the character, and evinced in the government, of Laud.

^d Collier, ii. 757; Fuller, xi. 128; Neal, ii. 210.

CHAP. III. One of the earliest acts of the new archbishop
 CHARLES I was to republish the Book of Sports, which had been
 issued by King James, but was subsequently withdrawn on the opposition of Abbot.^e This measure
 originated in an order made at the Somerset assizes in 1631, by the Lord Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham at the request of the justices of peace, for the suppression of revels, church ales, clerk ales, and other pastimes, in which the people were accustomed to indulge on the Lord's day. Laud was highly incensed at this proceeding, and complained to the king, who ordered the chief justice to attend at the council-board, where he was peremptorily commanded to reverse his former order.^f He ultimately complied with this direction, informing the "justices, grand jury, and country," in his charge, at the Summer assizes, 1634, "that those good orders, made by him and his brother Denham, for suppressing unruly wakes and revels, wherein he thought he had done God, the king, and the country good service, are to be revoked, and that some ill-affected persons had misinformed his Majesty concerning this order, who had given him express command to reverse it." The justices of the peace, being grieved at this revocation, joined in a petition to the king, showing the great evils which flowed from the revels in question, and praying that the order

^e Fuller, xi. 150.
^f Heylin informs us, that on one of his appearances at the council table, Richardson received "such a rattle for his former con-

tempt by the Bishop of London, that he came out blubbering and complaining, *that he had been almost choked by a pair of lawn sleeves.*" Life of Laud, 257.

Republication
of the Book
of Sports,
Oct. 18, 1633.

of the judges might be maintained.² But, before CHAP. III. this petition could be presented, a declaration was published in the king's name, which, after repeating the proclamation of James, subjoins : " Now out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose truth, and for the order, comfort, and recreation, of his well-deserving people, his Majesty doth ratify and publish this his blessed Father's declaration ; the rather because of late, in some counties of this kingdom, his Majesty finds that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding,

CHARLES
I.

² Heylin, with his habitual disregard of truth, affirms that the principal gentlemen of the county were opposed to the order of the chief justice, than which nothing can be more untrue. The representation given by the justices of the peace of the licentiousness practised at the wakes and revels, is in direct opposition to the account furnished by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in answer to a communication from Laud. " Presently after the receipt of your grace's letter," says the bishop, " I sent my letters into all the several deaneries within my diocese, for some of the better sort of clergy, out of every division, part, and corner of Somersetshire, to come unto me; and so they did, upon certain days appointed by me. And I find, by the several answers of threescore and twelve ministers, beneficed men, in whose parishes these feasts are kept, as followeth: First, that they have been kept not only this last year, but also for many years before, as long as they have lived in their several parishes, without any disorders. Secondly, that upon the feast days (which are for the most part every where upon Sun-

days) the service of the church hath been more solemnly performed, and the church hath been better frequented, both in the forenoon and in the afternoon, than upon any Sunday in the year. Thirdly, that they have not known or heard of any disorders in the neighbouring towns where the like feasts are kept. Fourthly, that the people do very much desire the continuance of those feasts. Lastly, that all these ministers are of opinion, that it is fit and convenient these feast-days should be continued, for a memorial of the dedications of their several churches, for the civilizing of people, for their lawful recreations, for the composing of differences by the occasion of the meeting of friends, for the increase of love and unity, as being feasts of charity, for the relief of the poor, the richer sort keeping there in a manner open house, and for many other reasons." Cant. Doome, 141. Such were the answers returned by these clerical advocates of profanity and wickedness. I scarcely know any other circumstance which exhibits the religion of the period in so melancholy a light.

CHARLES CHAP. III. not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called

I. wakes. Now his Majesty's express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that his justices of the peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And his Majesty further commands all justices of assize, in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his Majesty's laws. And for this his Majesty commands all his judges, justices of the peace, as well within liberties as without, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender his displeasure. And doth further will that publications of this his command be made by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively.”^h

Irreligious character of this proceeding.

The irreligious character of this declaration is now generally admitted. Whatever advocates it may have found when first published, there are but few even of the zealots of party who are bold enough to undertake its defence at the present day.ⁱ It was an unprincipled and base sacrifice of religion in order to discover and bring into trouble

^h Rushworth, ii. 191—196; Cant. Doome., 128—148; Fuller, xi. 147.

ⁱ The arguments which were urged in its defence, at the time of its publication, may be seen in Heylin's Laud, p. 310.

the puritan clergy. Laud was fully aware that they CHAP. III.
would never lend themselves to such a measure, by giving it the sanction of their public character. CHARLES I.

He thus calculated on detecting the leaven of puritanism, in comparison with which he esteemed the instruction of the ignorant and the reformation of the vicious to be but trifles. Irreligion was patronized as the best means to undermine and extirpate puritanism. "The archbishop," says a calm and dispassionate observer of his proceedings, "by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophesy, to a more than probability of losing all; as we read of some men, who, being foredoomed by an oracle to a bad fortune, have run into it by the same means they used to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the clergy then take to depress puritanism, which was, 'to set up irreligion itself against it,' the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it down: which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of *Sunday no Sabbath*, but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightness were permitted to the country people upon that day, by public authority, and the warrant commanded to be read in churches; which, instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day, in that part of the kingdom, which before had been well devoted; and many men, who had before been loose and careless, began upon that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed

CHARLES I. CHAP. III. to be invited, by the authority of churchmen, to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing of infirmity. The example of the court, where plays were usually presented on Sundays, did not so much draw the country to imitation, as reflect with disadvantage upon the court itself.” *

Its pernicious influence.

The tendency of this measure was exceedingly pernicious in various ways. It threw the whole weight and influence of government into the scale of irreligion, and frequently exposed the more thoughtful and devout inhabitants of a town or village to the derision and insults of their neighbours. Richard Baxter has furnished a graphic sketch of the scenes which were acted throughout the agricultural districts. “I cannot forget,” he says, “that in my youth, in those late times, when we lost the labours of some of our conformable godly teachers for not reading publicly the Book of Sports, and dancing on the Lord’s days, one of my father’s own tenants was the town piper, hired by the year (for many years together); and the place of the dancing assembly was not an hundred yards from our door. And we could not, on the Lord’s day, either read a chapter, or pray, or sing a psalm, or catechise or instruct a servant, but with the noise of the pipe and tabor, and the shoutings in the street continually in our ears; and even among a tractable people we were the common

* May’s Hist. of the Long Parliament, 15. “Mankind,” says Mr. Hallam, in harmony with the statements of May, “love sport as little as prayer by compulsion; and the immediate effect of the

king’s declaration was to produce a far more scrupulous abstinence from diversions on Sundays than had been practised before.” Const. Hist. ii. 78.

scorn of all the rabble in the streets, and called CHAP. III.
 puritans, precisians, and hypocrites, because we
 rather chose to read the Scriptures than to do as
 they did (though there was no savour of noncon-
 formity in our family). And when the people, by
 the book, were allowed to play and dance out of
 public service time, they could so hardly break off
 their sports, that many a time the reader was fain
 to stay till the piper and players would give over ;
 and sometimes the morrice-dancers would come
 into the church in all the linen and scarfs, and
 antic dresses, with morrice-bells jingling at their
 legs. And as soon as common prayer was read, did
 haste out presently to their play again.”^l

CHARLES
I.

The clergy were required, on pain of deprivation, to read the king’s declaration from their pulpits. Many refused to do so, and others yielded a reluctant consent, which subsequently embittered their days. Some immediately after reading it, repeated the fourth commandment : “ Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy ;” adding, “ This is the law of God ; the other, the injunction of man.” Those who refused were deprived of their livings, and were molested by the High Commission ; “ it being questionable,” says Fuller, “ whether their sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.”^m

^l The divine appointment of the Lord’s day. Works, xiii. 444; Sylvester’s Baxter, 2.

^m Ch. Hist. xi. 148. “ Here begins,” says the newsmonger, Garrard, in a letter to his employer, Wentworth, Dec. 6, 1633, “ to be much difference in opinion about the book ; for, though it be the same, *verbatim*, that was pub-

lished in King James’s time, yet it is commanded to be read in all the churches here, and in the country. In some churches of London it hath been read ; one Dr. Denison read it, and presently after read the ten commandments, then said, *Dearly beloved, you have heard now the commandments of God and man, obey which you*

CHARLES I. The bishops, who were enjoined to see to the obedience of their clergy, evinced various degrees of vigilance and zeal. Some disapproved of the measure, but none were sufficiently honest to hazard the consequences of an open avowal of their sentiments. The utmost that they did was to leave it to the discretion of their clergy to comply or not, as they might think fit. Fuller tells us, that one of the bishops, “being pressed by some to return the names of such as refused to read the book to the Archbishop of Canterbury, utterly denied, and his words to me,” adds the historian, “*were these, I will never turn an accuser of my brethren, there be enough in the world to take that office.*”ⁿ

Other bishops gladly availed themselves of the opportunity which this declaration afforded to eject the puritan clergy. Wren, of Norwich, was the most zealous of this class; and he reported to the archbishop, under date of Dec. 17, 1636, that in his diocese thirty were suspended or excommunicated, some for not appearing at his visitation, and others for obstinately refusing to read the king’s declaration.^o On the whole it may safely

please. Another, in St. Giles in the Fields, read it, and the same day preached upon the fourth commandment; and I hear the two Shutes, Mr. Holdsworth, and Dr. Gouge, have refused to read it.” Strafford’s Letters, i. 166.

ⁿ Ibid. Heylin’s Laud, 313. Such conduct was honourable to the party who practised it; but his religious character and episcopal functions entailed further obligations. He ought to have protested against so vile a piece of profanity, and, like Abbot, have

refused to permit its publication. The silence which was observed on this occasion by such men as Bishop Hall, must be viewed with surprise and regret by the candid of all parties. “It would have been well,” remarks the biographer of this estimable man, “if he had left us a testimony of his decided disapprobation of such a violation of the Sabbath; or that he had written purposely on the morality of the Lord’s day.” Jones’s Life of Hall, 144.

^o Rushworth, ii. 461.

be inferred that some hundreds were excluded from CHAP. III.
the service of the church, and subjected to various
indignities and sufferings for their fidelity on this
CHARLES
I.
occasion. “ How many hundred godly ministers,”
says Prynne, “ were suspended from their ministry,
sequestered, driven from their livings, excommuni-
cated, prosecuted in the High Commission, and
forced to leave the kingdom, for not publishing
this declaration, is so experimentally known to all,
that we shall pretermit it without any enumeration
of their names and places.”^p

^p Cant. Doome., 153.

CHAPTER IV.

Growing Severity of Laud—Prosecution of Prynne—Bastwick—Popish tendency of Laud's measures—New ceremonies introduced—Intolerant treatment of the French and Dutch churches—Neglect of Foreign Protestants—King's Instructions against Lecturers—Growth of Popery—Prosecution of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton in the Star Chamber—Their sentence—Their heroic fortitude—Effect of their punishment—Prosecution of Bishop Williams—Restraint of the Press.

CHAP. IV. LAUD's elevation, though it brought him no accession of power, yet furnished the occasion for increased severity against the puritans. The terms of conformity were more vigorously pressed than ever, insomuch that a minister was censured in the High Commission for having said, in a sermon, “That it was suspicious that now the night did approach, because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force than the power of godliness.” Tyranny is ever suspicious and vindictive, and, when exercised by priests, has displayed a more than usual sensitiveness and cruelty. Clerical despotism, as it is destitute of the high and commanding qualities which have ennobled and partially redeemed from

*Growing
severity of
Laud.*

execration other forms of tyranny, so it is appalled by every whisper, and does not regain tranquillity till its victim is incarcerated in a jail, or numbered with the dead. Such was the position and such were the feelings of Laud, and this history will speedily show the atrocities which he practised.

The case of William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, affords a notable instance of his revengeful and savage policy. Prynne was a man of gloomy and morose temperament, endowed with prodigious powers of application, and possessed of an indomitable spirit, which oppression might crush but could not subdue. So early as 1626 he had been summoned before the High Commission, to answer for his zeal in contending against the Arminianism of Montague and others, but was saved by a prohibition from Westminster Hall.^a Laud was incensed at his escape ; and, being further inflamed by some tracts which he subsequently published against the popish writings of Cozens, a prebend of Durham, he sought to effect his ruin. Prynne afforded an opportunity for this, in 1632, by the publication of a work against plays, masquerades, dances, and other similar amusements. It was entitled *Histriomastix*, and displayed a vast extent and variety of reading. Consisting of upwards of a thousand folio pages, it lashed, without scruple or pity, the prevalent follies and vices of the day, and unceremoniously reprobated the habits which were fatally prevalent in the higher classes of society. Its language is frequently coarse, and its invectives are unsparing and bitter ; yet it contains a mass of

CHARLES
I.

Prosecution
of Prynne.

^a Heylin's Laud, 155.

CHARLES I. CHAP. IV. learning, rigid morality, and high-toned sentiment, which might well have secured its author from punishment. But Prynne was known to be disaffected to the party and measures of Laud, and advantage was therefore taken of the style and allusions of his present publication, to represent him unfavourably to the King. The season for revenge was come; and Laud, to satiate his malignant passion, was mean and base enough to stoop to falsehood. About six weeks after the publication of the *Histriomastix*, the Queen had acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset House, when Laud and his guilty associates endeavoured to exasperate the King against Prynne, by directing his Majesty's attention to the index of the book in which "women actors" are designated "notorious whores;" and by affirming that the treatise was published with a special design to criminate the Queen. The King and Queen were highly incensed; and the Bishop, to render his purpose still more secure, employed Heylin, a discomfited antagonist of Prynne, to make a digest of all the passages of his book which tended to the injury or dishonour of the King and State.^b Prynne was committed to the Tower early in February 1632-3; and, after being detained in prison a year, was prosecuted by the Attorney General Noy, in the Star Chamber. It was in vain that he protested his innocence of any disloyal

Feb. 1633.

^b Whitelock, 18. Heylin states that the King ordered the book to be committed for this purpose to one of the Prebends of Westminster. Life of Laud, 239. It may have been so; but the selection was left to Laud, and the reason of his employing his sub-

sequent biographer lies on the face of the transaction. Heylin hated Prynne as heartily as did Laud, and was not a man to be restrained by any sense of honour, or principle of virtue, in forwarding his patron's scheme.

or factious intention ; that he denied any design of CHAP. IV. including the King or Queen within the sweeping censures of his book ; and expressed his regret at the severe and caustic language which he had sometimes employed. He was sentenced to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose an ear at each place, to be excluded from the bar, to be degraded at Oxford, to pay a fine of £5000, and to be imprisoned for life. His book was ordered to be burnt by the hangman ; and a prosecution was recommended against him in the High Commission, for those parts of it which reflected on the Church.^c To this terrible sentence the sturdy Puritan submitted with more than

Feb. 17, 1634.

May 7, & 10.

^c Rushworth, ii. 220—241. Whitclock, 21. Heylin's Laud, 230. 264. Hume, in his desire to extenuate the enormities of this period, speaks of the "obstinacy and petulance" of Prynne's behaviour before the Star Chamber, as one cause of the severity of the sentence pronounced on him. Hist. of England, vi. 229. But in this representation the historian is incorrect ; for Prynne did not open his lips in Court. His judges, on the contrary, emulated each other in the invectives and gross abuse which they poured upon him. The Earl of Dorset surpassed the others in the virulence of his abuse. "Mr. Prynne," said this brutal and servile nobleman, "I do declare you to be a schism-maker in the Church, a sedition-sower in the commonwealth, a wolf in sheep's clothing, in a word, *omnium malorum nequissimus*. I shall fine him ten thousand pounds, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserveth ; I will not set him at liberty no more than a plagued man, or a mad

dog, who, though he cannot bite, he will foam ; he is so far from being a sociable soul, that he is not a rational soul ; he is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey as wolves and tigers like himself. Therefore I do condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, as those monsters that are no longer fit to live among men, nor to see light. Now, for corporal punishment (my lords) whether I should burn him in the forehead, or slit him in the nose, for I find that it is confessed of all that Dr. Leighton's offence was less than Mr. Prynne's ; then why should Mr. Prynne have less punishment ? He that was guilty of murder was marked in a place where he might be seen, as Cain was. I should be loath he should escape with his ears, for he may get a periwig, which he now so much inveighs against, and so hide them, or force his conscience to make use of his unlovely love-locks on both sides ; therefore I would have him branded on the forehead, slit in the nose, and his ears cropt too." Rushworth, ii. 240.

CHARLES CHAP. IV. Roman courage.^d Its severity was generally condemned, while the heroism of the sufferer became the theme of universal applause. He returned to his prison, mutilated but not dishonoured; degraded in the estimation of his judges, but dignified in his own. His sense of rectitude preserved him from depression, and the strength of his convictions, and the ardour of his temperament, impelled him to renew the struggle in which he had suffered so severely.

Dr. Bast-wick.

Dr. Bastwick, a physician at Colchester, suffered about the same time as Prynne. His offence consisted in the publication of a Latin work, entitled *Elenchus Papismi et Flagellum Episcoporum Latium*, in answer to Short, a papist, who had written in defence of the Pope's supremacy, and of other catholic tenets.^e Though he disclaimed any intention of reflecting on the English bishops, in the remarks which he offered on the popish prelates, yet the sensitiveness of Laud and his brethren led them to suspect such a design. Bastwick stren-

^d Heylin says, that the part of his sentence which respected the cutting off his ears "was much moderated in the execution." Life of Laud, 265. Whatever humanity was exercised on the occasion, is referrible to the executioner, and not to his judges, whose hard-heartedness was subsequently displayed in the brutal jokes in which they indulged. The Rev. Mr. Garrard, whom Wentworth retained to furnish him with the news and gossip of London, writing to his employer, then in Ireland, June 3, 1634, refers to Prynne's punishment in the following terms. "No mercy showed to Prynne; he stood in the pillory; and lost his first ear

in a pillory in the palace at Westminster, in full term; his other in Cheapside; where, while he stood, his volumes were burnt under his nose, which had almost suffocated him." Strafford's Letters, &c. i. 261.

^e Dr. Grey assumes to correct Mr. Neal's account of the book for which Bastwick was prosecuted. But Neal was perfectly correct; and the Doctor has confounded the two prosecutions which this victim of priestly intolerance and tyranny underwent. The work mentioned by Grey was written during the imprisonment of the Puritan sufferer. Neal, ii. 228. Grey, i. 146.

uously maintained the royal supremacy, and affirmed that the prelates derived their authority, and exercised their jurisdiction, under the King. This was sufficient to awaken the hostility of Laud, and was the real ground of the proceedings which were adopted against him. Bastwick was summoned before the High Commission, and, on the 12th of February, 1634, was sentenced to be fined a thousand pounds, to be excommunicated, debarred from following his profession, and to be imprisoned till he made a recantation. His work was ordered to be burnt, as though it were an inexpiable offence to maintain the doctrine on which the English Church was based, and by which alone its past proceedings could be defended. Chowney, on the other hand, a zealous papist, who had written in defence of the Church of Rome, was so far from being punished for his temerity, that his work was dedicated to and patronised by the Archbishop.^f So consistent was the Protestantism of Laud, and so pure and even-handed was his administration. His

^f Fuller, xi. 151. Whitelock, 21. The latter writer reports that "In the censure of Bastwick, all the Bishops then present denied openly that they held their jurisdiction, as Bishops, from the King, for which perhaps they might have been censured themselves in H. 2, or E. 3 times.

"But they affirmed, That they had their jurisdiction from God only; which denial of the supremacy of the King under God H. 8, would have taken ill, and it may be would have confuted by his kingly arguments, and Regia manu: but these Bishops publicly disavowed their dependence on the King.

"And the Archbishop maintained the book of Chowney, and that the Romish Church was a true Church, and erred not in fundamentals: and somewhat was noted to pass from him and other Bishops, in defaming the Holy Scriptures; and Calvin was very much slighted, and abused by them.

"I cannot precisely aver all this, though I heard most of it, as it is here set down; and heard the rest of it, to this purpose, from those who were present at the debating of these matters in the High Commission Court." Memorials, 22.

CHARLES
I.

CHARLES I. CHAP. IV. object was to debase the Protestantism of his country, by infusing into it as much of the leaven of Popery as would render it favourable to the aggrandizement and independence of the Clergy, without hazarding their subjection to a foreign yoke. He did not wish to transfer them to the Pope, but to establish in himself a control as absolute and irresponsible as the successor of St. Peter claimed.

Popish
tendency
of Laud's
measures.

The Archbishop now proceeded without restraint or fear, in his favourite scheme of assimilating the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church of England to those of Rome. Intent on this single object, he was regardless of the suspicion with which his measures were viewed, and senselessly calculated on easily overcoming the opposition with which they might be encountered. Blinded by his bigotry, and determined on the accomplishment of his design, he despised the suggestions of prudence, and wounded at once the pride and the religious sensibilities of the nation. Laud was incapable of taking an enlarged and statesmanlike view of things. His intellect was stunted, and his knowledge more scholastic than practical. He knew but little of the pursuits and passions of men, and was utterly disqualified for estimating the principles and religious sympathies of his opponents. His temporary success was therefore achieved at the cost of ultimate defeat; and the zeal with which he served his infatuated master only served to hasten the hour of his fate. Had Laud administered the affairs of the Church at a period when the public mind was uninformed, and its sensibilities torpid, he might have silenced opposition by the tortures of an inquisition, or the wholesale butcheries of a

crusade. But in the seventeenth century he was CHAP. IV.
out of place, and was consequently doomed to the
mortification of forming schemes, which his power
was incompetent to execute, and which the dreaded
indignation of his contemporaries compelled him
partially to conceal.^g

Several alterations were now made in the book ^{New cere-}
of Common Prayers, with a view to conciliate the ^{monies intro-}
Papists. The communion table was ordered to be ^{duced.}
fixed under the east wall of the chancel, with the
ends north and south, in the form of an altar, to
be raised two or three steps above the floor, and to
be encompassed with a rail; and the Clergy were
commanded to bow towards it in coming in and
going out of the church.^h These innovations,

^g In his correspondence with Wentworth, Laud unburdened his guilty mind. He had no sympathy with the higher intellectual qualities of the Irish deputy; but their fellowship in crime induced him to lay aside restraint, and to speak out the feelings of his heart. "My Lord," he says, in a letter dated September 9, 1633, "to speak freely, you may easily promise more in either kind than I can perform; for, as for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your lordship sees, no man clearer, that they which have gotten so much power in and over the Church will not let go their hold; they have, indeed, fangs with a witness, whatsoever I was once said in a passion to have. And for the State, indeed, my Lord, I am for *Thorough*; but I see that both thick and thin stays somebody, where I conceive it

should not; and it is impossible for me to go thorough alone. Besides, private ends are such blocks in the public way, and lie so thick, that you may promise what you will, and I must perform what I can, and no more." Again, in a letter to Wentworth, who was then playing the tyrant with a high hand, dated October 20, 1634, he says, "As for my marginal note, I see you deciphered it well, and I see you made use of it too; do so still; thoro and thoro. Oh that I were where I might go so too! but I am shackled between delays and uncertainties. You have a great deal of honour here for your proceedings. Go on in God's name." Strafford's Letters, i. 111, 329. Such passages are of frequent occurrence in the confidential communications of these favourite ministers of Charles.

^h Cant. Doome, 112. Troubles, &c. of Laud, 357. Heylin's Laud, 336. Fuller, xi. 151, 152. Collier, ii. 762. Neal, ii. 220—224.

CHAP. IV. which Laud rigorously pressed, were opposed by a large portion of the Clergy. Some of the bishops were averse from them, amongst whom was Williams of Lincoln, who wrote against them in a treatise, which Clarendon, though no friend to his memory, says, was “so full of good learning, and that learning so close and solidly applied (though it abounded with too many light expressions) that it gained him reputation enough to do hurt; and showed that, in his retirement, he had spent his time with his books very profitably.”¹ But Laud was not to be deterred by opposition. Reckless of the consequences of his folly, he pertinaciously insisted on submission, and proceeded to suspend and deprive all who proved refractory. Considerable numbers of the Clergy suffered on this account; and a general suspicion was awakened of the sinister design of the Archbishop. “From this unhappy subject,” says Clarendon, when speaking of the communion table being turned into an altar, “not in itself of that important value, to be entered upon with that resolution, or to be carried on with that passion, proceeded upon the matter a schism amongst the Bishops themselves, and a great deal of uncharitableness in the learned and moderate Clergy, towards one another; which, though it could not increase the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the enemies of the Church to do it hurt, and also to the number of them. For, without doubt, many who loved the established government of the Church, and the exercise of religion as it was used, and desired not a

¹ Hist. of Rebellion, i. 171.

change in either, nor did dislike the order and CHAP. IV.
 decency which they saw mended, yet they liked ————— CHARLES
 not any novelties, and so were liable to entertain I.
 jealousies that more was intended than was hitherto
 proposed; especially when those infusions pro-
 ceeded from men unsuspected to have any inclina-
 tions to change, and were known assertors of the
 government both in Church and State. They did
 observe the inferior Clergy took more upon them
 than they were wont, and did not live towards their
 neighbours of quality or their patrons themselves,
 with that civility and condescension they had used
 to do; which disposed them likewise to a with-
 drawing their good countenance and good neigh-
 bourhood from them.”^k

The archbishop was equally intent on reducing the foreign protestants, who were settled in various parts of the kingdom, to a conformity with the church of England. These exiles for conscience’ sake had found an asylum in England during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, from the former of whom they obtained a patent, authorizing them to constitute their churches on the Presbyterian model, and exempting them from episcopal jurisdiction. Their privileges had subsequently been confirmed by James and Charles, the latter of whom, in an order dated November 13th, 1626, had commanded all the judges, &c., “to permit and suffer the said strangers, members of the outlandish churches, and their children, quietly to enjoy all and singular such privileges and immunities as have been formerly granted unto them,

Intolerant conduct towards the French and Dutch churches settled in England.

^k Hist. of Rebellion, i. 172.

CHAP. IV. without any troubles, arrests, or proceedings by way
CHARLES I. of information or otherwise." A similar order was issued by the privy council so recently as the 7th of January, 1630, guaranteeing to all "that are now, or hereafter shall be, members of the Dutch congregation (in Norwich), although born within this kingdom," all the privileges of which the church had hitherto been possessed. But the unscrupulous prelate was no sooner established in power, than he recommended the violation of these promises, urging, amongst other reasons, that the separate communion which the foreign churches maintained, "must of course make them disaffected to the state;" and that "the example of such an indulgence makes an ill impression on the *English*, and confirms them in their stubbornness and non-conformity."¹ All their children of the second generation, since their settlement, were therefore commanded to attend at the church of the parish in which they resided, and the others, though permitted to retain their own discipline, were required to use the English liturgy. Against these instructions the strangers protested; first, in a petition to the Bishop of Norwich, and afterwards in one to

¹ "I conceive," says Laud, in his account of his province to the king in 1634, "under favour, that the Dutch churches in Canterbury and Sandwich are great nurseries of non-conformity in those parts. Your Majesty may be pleased to remember I have complained to yourself, and my lords at the council-board, and humbly desired that they, both of the French, Italian, and Dutch congregations, which are born subjects, may not be suffered any longer to live in such a separation as they do, from

both church and state. And have, according to that which I thought might best sort with your Majesty's intentions, commanded my vicar-general, when he was lately at Canterbury, to begin fairly to call them to conform with the English church, which business I do hereby humbly beseech your Majesty to look upon with a provident eye, not here only, but much more in London, for the better settling of both church and commonwealth in that particular." Troubles of Laud, 529.

Laud himself. But their entreaties were unavailing. CHAP. IV.
 The heart and the intellect of the primate were alike inaccessible to their prayer. "I do expect," said the imperious and haughty prelate, "all obedience and conformity to my instructions, which, if you shall perform, the state will have occasion to see how ready you are to practise the obedience which you teach; and, for my part, I doubt not but yourself, or your posterity at least, shall have cause to thank both the state and the church for this care taken of you; but if you refuse (as you have no cause to do, and I hope you will not), I shall then proceed against the natives, according to the laws and canons ecclesiastical." "By these injunctions," says Rushworth, "the foreign churches were molested and disquieted several years together for refusing conformity, and some of their ministers and others of their congregations deserted the kingdom, and went beyond seas."^m

While Laud and his faction were pleading for Neglect of many of the doctrines and ceremonies of popery, they availed themselves of every opportunity to treat the continental Protestants with neglect and scorn. The English ambassadors resident at foreign courts, acting on the policy which was prevalent at home, withdrew from the religious worship of the Protestants, and refused them the countenance to which they had been accustomed, and from which many advantages had accrued, both to themselves and to England. "Whereas,"

^m Collections, ii. 272, 273; Collier, ii. 753, 754; Cant. Doom., 393—407; Heylin's Laud, 276—281. Laud was equally concerned to force the liturgy and ceremo-

nies of his church on the English regiments and congregations in foreign countries. Rushworth, ii. 249—251; Collier, ii. 752, 753.

CHAP. IV. says Lord Clarendon, an unexceptionable witness
CHARLES on such a point, “in all former times, the ambas-
I. sadors, and all foreign ministers of state, employed
from England into any parts where the reformed
religion was exercised, frequented their churches,
gave all possible countenance to their profession,
and held correspondence with the most active and
powerful persons of that relation ; and particularly
the ambassador lieger at Paris had diligently and
constantly frequented the church at Charenton,
and held a fair intercourse with those of that reli-
gion throughout the kingdom, by which they had
still received advantage, that people being indus-
trious and active to get into the secrets of the state,
and so deriving all necessary intelligence to those
whom they desired to gratify : the contrary to this
was now with great industry practised, and some
advertisements, if not instructions, given to the
ambassadors there ‘to forbear any extraordinary
commerce with the men of that profession.’ And the Lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary
ambassador there before the beginning of this par-
liament, whether by the inclinations of his own
nature, or by advice from others, not only declined
going to Charenton, but furnished his own chapel,
in his house, with such ornaments (as candles upon
the communion table, and the like) as gave great
offence and umbrage to those of the reformation
there, who had not seen the like ; besides, that he
was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by him-
self, and those who had the nearest relation to him,
‘that the church of England looked not on the
Hugonots as a part of their communion,’ which

was likewise too much and too industriously dis- CHAP. IV.
coursed at home.”ⁿ

CHARLES
I.

By this imprudent and compromising policy the church of England lost the respect and confidence of foreign Protestants. They regarded her rulers, though unreconciled to the pope, as apostates from the reformation, and witnessed her subsequent overthrow without regret.

In addition to these measures, by which Laud offended the conscience and aroused the fears of all enlightened Protestants, he was animated by a fierce and unrelenting hostility towards a numerous class of preachers, whose zeal for the reformed faith gave them influence with the people. Reference has already been made to his efforts, in 1629, for the suppression of lecturers, and he now proceeded with redoubled energy to enforce his impolitic and ruinous scheme. He obtained a letter from the king, enjoining a strict observance of the canons which relate to ordination, and particularly to the one which enjoined that no person should be admitted to sacred orders without a title. “For we find,” said his Majesty, “that many not so qualified, do, by favour of other means, procure themselves to be ordained, and afterwards, for want of means, wander up and down, to the scandal of their calling; or, to get maintenance, fall upon such courses as are most unfit for them, both by humouring their auditors, and other ways altogether unsufferable.” These rules were, in consequence, strictly observed, so that no lecture or chaplainship in a nobleman’s family was admitted to constitute a canonical title.^o

King's instruc-
tions against
lecturers.

Sept. 19,
1633.

ⁿ Hist. of Rebellion, iii. 366. ^o Rushworth, ii. 213—215.

CHAP. IV. Laud's annual accounts of his province furnished to the king, afford ample evidence of the activity with which the bishops enforced the instructions of their metropolitan. "I find," he says, in 1633, "that the lord bishop (of Bath and Wells) hath, in his late visitation, taken a great deal of pains to see all your Majesty's instructions observed. And particularly hath put down divers lecturers in market-towns, which were beneficed men in other bishops' dioceses, because he found, that when they had preached factious and disorderly sermons, they retired into other countries, where his jurisdiction would not reach to punish them." The Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry is reported to have "suppressed a seditious lecture at Ripon; and diverse monthly lectures, with a fast and a moderator (like that which they called prophesying in Queen Elizabeth's time), as also the morning lecture, so called, because the lecturer went from village to village; and, at the end of the week, proclaimed where they should have him next, that his disciples might follow. They say this lecture was ordained to illuminate the dark corners of that diocese." "All the bishops above mentioned," says Laud, in closing his report, "which are all that have yet reported, do agree, that all other things in your sacred Majesty's instructions contained, are carefully observed; and particularly that of avoiding factious meddling with the prohibited questions."^p Similar reports are contained in the accounts of subsequent years, so that nothing could appear more successful than the archbishop's policy, or

Zeal of the
bishops in en-
forcing them.

less likely than the convulsion which speedily CHAP. IV.
ensued. Occasionally, indeed, hints are given
of the existence of dissatisfaction, but Laud CHARLES
seems to have entertained no doubt of the suc-
cessful issue of his heartless policy. “The third
misdemeanour,” he says, in the report of 1636,
“which my lord (of London) complains of, is,
the late spreading and dispersing of some factious
and malicious pamphlets against the bishops
and government of the church of England. And
my lord farther certifies, that he hath reasonable
ground to persuade him, that those libellous pam-
phlets have been contrived or abetted, and dispersed
by some of the clergy of his diocese; and therefore
desires me to use the authority of the High Com-
mission, for the further discovery of this notorious
practice, to prevent the mischiefs which will other-
wise ensue upon the government of the church. This,
God willing, I shall see performed. But, if the
High Commission shall not have power enough,
because one of those libels contains seditious matter
in it, and that which is very little short of treason
(if any thing at all), then I humbly crave leave to
add this to my lord treasurer’s motion (bishop
Juxon), and humbly to desire that your Majesty
will call it into a higher court, if you find cause;
since I see no likelihood but that these troubles
in the church, if they be permitted, will break
out into some sedition in the commonwealth.”^a

^a Against this request of the archbishop, the king wrote in the margin, “What the High Commission cannot do in this, I shall supply as I shall find cause in a

more powerful way.” Troubles, &c., of Laud, 539, 540. So ready was the tyrant king to adopt the interested suggestion of the wily and despotic prelate.

CHAP. IV. By such a course of proceeding the church of
CHARLES England was deprived of the services of many of
I. her most active and useful ministers. The people
^{Growth of popery.} were left without instruction, or were supplied
only with the inanimate forms of religion. They
became, in consequence, an easy prey to the
emissaries of popery, who began to predict, with
the utmost confidence, the speedy restoration
of the ancient faith. And it must be ac-
knowledged that there was much in the outward
aspect of ecclesiastical affairs to warrant their
hopes ; and to awaken the fears of the best friends
of protestantism.

The doctrines of the early reformers were dis-
countenanced, the ceremonies of the church were
multiplied, and its worship was rendered more secu-
lar and gorgeous. Numerous conversions to popery
took place, and several of the king's ministers were
either avowed or secret papists. The most zealous
and useful clergymen were silenced, or driven from
the kingdom, and considerable solicitude was
evinced to prevent any appearance of fellowship
with the other sections of the reformed church.
“The papists,” says Clarendon, “had for many
years enjoyed a great calm, being upon the matter
absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dis-
pensed with for the gentlest ; and were grown only
a part of the revenue, without any probable danger
of being made a sacrifice to the law. They were
looked upon as good subjects at court, and as good
neighbours in the country ; all the restraints and
reproaches of former times being forgotten. But
they were not prudent managers of this prosperity,
being too elate and transported with the protec-

tion and connivance they received."^r Yet some CHAP. IV.
 modern writers affect to treat with contempt the
 ears which were entertained by Laud's contemporaries of the return of popery. They represent the protestant faith as never more vigorous and healthy than during his administration, and endeavour to lead their readers to the conclusion that that administration secured the confidence and awakened the admiration of the nation. The events which subsequently transpired with such amazing rapidity are a sufficient refutation of their statements. Society must have been pervaded with the deepest and most agitating apprehensions, before it could give birth to the violent revolutions which speedily followed.^s

The year 1637 was signalised by an act of barbarity which added greatly to the odium even of Laud's administration. Prynne and Bastwick had continued in prison since their condemnation in 1634, and had employed their time

Prosecution
of Prynne,
Bastwick,
and Burton,
in the Star
Chamber.

^r Hist. of Rebellion, i. 261.

^s The residence in London, of Panzani, an agent from the papal court, who was privately received by the king in 1635, tended greatly to confirm the suspicions of his protestant subjects. The professed object of Panzani's mission was to reconcile the differences existing amongst the English catholics respecting the oath of allegiance. The queen, and some of the king's ministers, received him very cordially, and a project was soon broached for a union of the two churches. Bishop Montague was the principal agent in this negotiation. He assured

Panzani that the two archbishops, and all their suffragans, with the exception of Morton, Hall, and Davenant, were prepared to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope, and expressed his confidence that the other disputed points might be settled by a conference of learned and moderate divines. The scheme, however, proved abortive, and only served, from the mystery in which it was enwrapped, to prejudice the king's government still further in the public judgment. Hallam's Const. Hist., ii. 81, 94—96 ; Lingard, x. 6—8.

CHAP. IV. in writing against the innovations and tyranny of
CHARLES the bishops. Undeterred by their recent sufferings,

I. they dispersed treatises, in which, with exceptionable asperity, and coarseness of language, they assailed the episcopal order, and denounced the usurpations of Laud and his associates.^t Instead of pitying the men whom his oppressions had maddened, he urged the filing of a criminal information against them and Mr. Burton in the Star Chamber. The last of these victims of episcopal cruelty was minister of Friday Street Church, London ; and his offence consisted in preaching two sermons, on November 5, 1636, against the innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, which had recently crept into the Church. For these sermons he was summoned into the High Commission, whence he appealed to the King ; but, by the direction of the Archbishop, he was suspended both from his office and benefice. Orders being given for his apprehension, he confined himself to his house ; and, in his own defence, printed his sermons, with a dedication to the King, and epistles to the Lords

^t Prynne is reported to have written three treatises, one entitled *The Quench Coal*, against turning the Communion Table into an Altar; another, *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*; and a third, *The News from Ipswich*. Bastwick wrote a Latin treatise, entitled *Apologeticus ad presules Anglicanos*, and an English one which he called a *Litany*. Heylin's Laud, 328. A New Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny, 13, 14.

The style in which these victims of priestly domination assailed the character and policy of

their oppressors is not to be justified. It bespoke the fire of human passion, rather than the hallowed zeal which religion inspires. But it is idle to appeal to the violence and acrimony of their language in justification of their treatment. That treatment was barbarous in the extreme. It was so regarded at the time ; and is now condemned by the candid and honourable of every party. Some of the most exceptionable passages in their works may be found in Heylin's Laud, 328—330. Grey's Exam. of Neal, i. 147—152, and Lingard, x. 17.

of the Council. He was at length apprehended by CHAP. IV.
 a warrant from the Star Chamber, February 1, —————
 1637; and was associated with Prynne and Bast- CHARLES
 wick, in the charge subsequently preferred at the I.
 suggestion of Laud. The Judges were consulted,
 whether Bastwick and Burton might not be con-
 victed of high treason; but their judgment being
 unfavourable to such a course, the Attorney
 General filed an information against them in the
 Star Chamber.^u The cause was heard on the 14th
 of June 1637, when they were charged with “writ-
 ing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and
 libellous books against the Hierarchy of the Church,
 and to the scandal of the Government.” Their de-
 fence was rejected as informal, not being signed by
 two counsellors, and a verdict was consequently re-
 corded against them. The tyranny of the Star
 Chamber, and the known design of the government,
 intimidated the members of the bar, and led them
 to shrink from the discharge of their duty.* The
 conviction of the prisoners was previously deter-
 mined, and it was therefore deemed prudent to
 deprive them of the aid of able and experienced
 advocates. Mr. Holt having been assigned by the
 Court as counsel to Mr. Prynne, had drawn up his
 answer, and received his fee, but was privately
 commanded not to sign it, under the penalty of ex-
 clusion from the bar. The same counsel having
 subscribed Burton’s answer, was summoned before
 the two chief justices Bramston and Finch, and

^u Rushworth, ii. 324.

* “What meaneth,” Burton inquired in his *Appeal*, “that consternation of spirit amongst lawyers, that few or none can be

found to plead a cause, be it ever so just, against an oppressing prelate, and are either menaced or imprisoned if they do it.” Brodie ii. 338.

CHARLES I. CHAP.IV. severely reprimanded by the latter, who told him that he deserved to have his gown pulled over his ears for drawing it." The distinguished lawyer, Mr. St. John, who acted so conspicuous a part in the subsequent struggle, being suspected of having drawn up the answer of the prisoners, his study was ransacked in search of evidence against him.^y Such were the means employed by the grand inquisitor, and his familiars, to accomplish their infamous plot. Though parties in the case, they presided as judges. Laud frequently took part in the proceedings of the Court, endeavouring to aggravate the offence of the accused, and to incense the Lords against them ; yet, with contemptible insincerity, he closed his lengthened oration by remarking, "Because this business hath some reflection upon myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy, and the King's justice." No one was deceived by the hollowness of this declaration. It was one of those superfluous exhibitions of hypocrisy which all understand, and every honest mind despises. The wily ecclesiastic thirsted for blood, yet dreaded the odium of shedding it. Others were therefore excited to the barbarous deed, in the hope that their more palpable agency might conceal his part in the transaction.

Their sentence.

The sentence pronounced by the Court, which Laud termed "a just and honourable censure," and for which he offered their lordships "all hearty thanks," was to this effect. That the three prisoners should be fined £5000 each, and stand in the

^y Prelates' Tyranny, 38, 41. Strafford's Letters, ii. 85.

pillory at Westminster ; that Bastwick and Burton CHAP. IV.
 should lose their ears, and Prynne be deprived of —————
 the remainder of his, and be branded on both CHARLES
 cheeks S L, for seditious libeller. They were to be
 incarcerated for life in three separate and distant
 prisons, without access of friends or kindred or
 the use of books, ink, or paper.^z Such was the
 sentence in which a Protestant primate could re-
 joice, and which even modern writers attempt to
 extenuate, in order to shield their hero from the
 execration which he merits.

This barbarous sentence was executed on the ^{Their heroic fortitude.} 30th of June. An immense assemblage of people congregated on the occasion, who regarded the sufferers as the victims of prelatical superstition and tyranny, and groaned with an intense desire of effecting their deliverance. Never did the early martyrs, or the victims of popish intolerance, display greater cheerfulness, or a more entire self-command, than was evinced by Prynne and his companions. Immediately on Dr. Bastwick ascending the scaffold, his wife rushed to his side, and, with a feeling which did her honour, kissed the ears that were about to be cruelly mangled. Her husband entreated her not to be dismayed at his sufferings ; to which she replied, with all the fondness and the heroism of her sex, “ Farewell, my dearest, be of comfort, I am nothing dismayed.” The assembled multitude were moved at the scene, and testified their sympathy by a shout.^a Burton exhorted his wife in a similar strain. Immediately

^z Rushworth, ii. 380—385. 110—113. Whitelock, 25.
 App. 116—133. Cant. Doome, * Prelates' Tyranny, 34.

CHARLES L. CHAP. IV. prior to his being taken to the pillory, we are informed that he looked anxiously upon her, “to see how she did take it; she seemed to him to be something sad; to whom he thus spake, ‘Wife, why art thou so sad?’ To whom she made answer, ‘Sweet heart, I am not sad.’ ‘No?’ said he, ‘See thou be not; for I would not have thee to dishonour the day, or to darken the glory of it, by shedding one tear, or fetching one sigh: for behold there for thy comfort my triumphant chariot (the pillory) on the which I must ride for the honour of my lord and master: and never was my wedding day so welcome and joyful a day as this day is; and so much the more, because I have such a noble captain and leader, who hath gone before me with such undauntedness of spirit, that he saith of himself, I gave my back to the smiters,’ &c.^b

Men who could thus comfort others, were not likely to sink in the hour of trial. They had counted the cost, and were prepared for all which followed. The temper of the Archbishop, and the policy of the Court, were known to them from the

^b Prelates’ Tyranny, 47. At a later hour, when standing in the pillory, he received an affectionate message from his wife, when he said to the friend who brought it, “Commend my love to my wife, and tell her I am heartily cheerful, and bid her remember what I said to her in the morning, that she should not blemish the glory of this day with one tear, or so much as one sigh.” She returned him an answer, expressing her joy at his cheerfulness, and assuring him that she was more happy than on her wedding-day. This reply, we are informed, “exceedingly rejoiced his heart,

who thereupon blessed God for her, and said of her, ‘She is but a young soldier of Christ’s, but she hath already endured many a sharp brunt, but the Lord will strengthen her unto the end.’ And having on a pair of new gloves, he showed them to his friends there about him, saying, ‘My wife, yesterday, of her own accord, brought me these wedding gloves, for this is my wedding-day.’ Ibid. 54. When the heart of a female is thus enabled to exult in the sufferings of her dearest earthly friend, what may not be expected from the force of religious principles?

first; but, despising the suggestions of a temporizing CHAP. IV.
selfishness, they threw themselves at once into the
very heat of the battle, with a distinct foresight of
the probable consequences of doing so. Such
men were not likely to quail before the usurpations
they had denounced. They might become the
victims of episcopal intolerance, but they could not
be made to tremble at its power, or to fall down
before its shrine. During the infliction of their
sentence, they triumphed in the fulness of Christian
consolation. They felt, as martyrs for the truth,
sustained and cheered by the God whom they
served. Mr. Burton being asked if the pillory was
not uneasy to his neck, replied, “How can Christ’s
yoke be uneasy? This is Christ’s yoke, and he
bears the heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and
if mine were too heavy, he would bear that too. O,
good people,” exclaimed the suffering Puritan,
“Christ is a good and sweet master, and worth the
suffering for! And if the world did but know his
goodness, and had tasted of his sweetness, all would
come in and be his servants; and did they but
know what a blessed thing it were to bear his yoke,
oh, who would not bear it?” His demeanour was
equally calm and self-possessed when undergoing
the severer part of his sentence, as was that of his
companions also. Immediately that Bastwick was
released from the pillory, he took the spunge from
his bleeding ear, and, waving it over his head,
exclaimed in a loud voice, “Blessed be my God,
who hath counted me worthy, and of his mighty
power hath enabled me to suffer any thing for his
sake; and as I have now lost some of my blood, so
I am ready and willing to spill every drop that is

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. IV. in my veins in this cause for which I have now
 CHARLES suffered : which is, for maintaining the truth of God,

I. and the honour of my King, against Popish usurpations. Let God be glorified. And let the King live for ever.”^c

Prynne underwent the greatest tortures, but his resolution was unshaken. “The executioner performed the execution with extraordinary cruelty, heating his iron very hot, and burning one cheek twice : after which he cut one of his ears so close, that he cut off a piece of his cheek too, and cut him deep into his neck, near the jugular vein, to the great danger of his life. And then hacking the other ear almost off, he left it hanging, and went down the scaffold, till the surgeon called him up again, and made him cut it off quite. At which exquisite torture he never moved with his body, or so much as changed his countenance, but still looked up as well as he could to heaven, with a smiling countenance, even to the astonishment of all the beholders. As soon as he came off the pillory he said, ‘Now, blessed be God, I have conquered and triumphed over the prelates’ malice ; and feel myself so strong, that I could encounter them all together at this very present.’”^d

^c Prelates’ Tyranny, 63.

^d Ibid. 64. Each of the sufferers exhorted the people to be faithful in maintaining the Protestant faith. “Alas, poor England!” said Prynne, “what will become of thee and thy religion, if thou look not the sooner into thy own perplexed condition, and maintainest not thine own established faith, and lawful liberties! Christian people, I beseech you all, stand firm,

and be zealous for the cause of God, and his true religion, to the shedding of your dearest blood ; otherwise you will bring yourselves, and your posterities, into perpetual bondage and slavery to these Romish innovators, and tyrannizing prelates.” One of Laud’s spies brought to him, in the Star Chamber, a report of Prynne’s speech, when the brutal ecclesiastic instantly proposed, that he might be gagged, and

Such barbarities, practised in the name of religion, shocked the public mind. Those who witnessed them gave vent to their feelings in indignant tones, which reached the heart and aroused the fears of Laud. He was universally regarded as their instigator, and attracted, in consequence, to himself an unmeasured share of detestation and reproach. Regarded as an incarnation of priestly intolerance and cruelty, his name was pronounced with execration, and his order was doomed to speedy extinction. The cruelty of Laud did more to hasten the downfal of the church than all the writings of its most talented and bitter foes.

His puritan victims were, on the other hand, enshrined in the affectionate sympathy of their countrymen. Men of all classes united in their praise, and thousands attended them on their departure from London to the distant scenes of their imprisonment. Their transit through the country was like a triumphant procession, the inhabitants of every town vying with each other in paying them an unbought and sincere respect.^e Even Clarendon, when indulging to the full his spleen against these intrepid sufferers, is compelled to acknowledge the

have some further punishment inflicted on him. Happily for Prynne, some of the Archbishop's colleagues retained a vestige of humanity. "His Grace should do well," said the Lord Keeper, "not to take notice of what men spake when they were in pain on the pillory, their very standing on it being sufficient to discredit all they uttered." Prelates' Tyranny, 44.

^e Some of them paid dearly for their humanity, amongst whom

were certain inhabitants of Chester. Having visited Mr. Prynne, during his stay in that city, they were apprehended at the instigation of Laud, and carried before the High Commissioners at York, by whom they were severally fined from £250 to £500, and were compelled to enter into a bond of £300 each to make a public acknowledgment of their offence in the cathedral church and town-hall of Chester. Prelates' Tyranny, 91—109.

CHAP. IV.
CHARLES
I.

Effect of their
punishment.

CHARLES I. CHAP. IV. impolicy of their punishment. “When they were all sentenced,” says the party historian, “and, for the execution of that sentence, brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons, men began no more to consider the manners, but the men; and each profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.”^f The archbishop was not wise enough to profit by this display of popular feeling. Incapable of calm reflection, he was hurried along by his impetuous passions from one barbarity to another. A more sagacious statesman would have paused, when he saw the tempest gathering; but Laud, blinded by bigotry, if not brutalized by the atrocities he had practised, found his only consolation in complaining to Wentworth of the lukewarmness and clemency of others.^g He was not easy while the men whom he had so deeply injured sojourned on English soil. He dreaded

^f Hist. of Rebellion, i. 167.

^g “What say you to it?” says the archbishop to Wentworth, in a letter dated August 28, 1637, “that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city; and that when they went out of town, to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else? . . .

Once again,” he adds, “you return to Prynne and his fellows, and observe most rightly that these men do but begin with the church, that they might after have the freer access to the state; and I would to God other men were of your lordship’s opinion; or, if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal, too, for timely prevention; but for that we are all too secure, and will not believe there is any foul weather towards us, till the storm break upon us.” Strafford’s Letters, ii. 99.

their influence, and wished to deprive them of the occasional solace which the presence or the communications of their friends might afford. He therefore obtained an order for their removal to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly, where they remained till released by the Long Parliament.^h

The case of Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, furnishes another instance of the gross injustice and base ingratitude of Laud. Indebted to his friendly aid for early promotion, he soon forgot the obligation, and became his rival and supplanter. A long course of intrigue was practised to remove him from court, and to deprive him of his offices. For such services Laud's talents were pre-eminently fitted. There was no meanness to which he would not stoop, nor any artifice which he was incapable of practising. He knew neither principle nor humanity in following out his nefarious schemes, and was seldom visited with those compunctions which bespeak a surviving relic of virtue. The character of Williams was more than questionable, yet it affords no excuse for the deeper depravity of Laud, who employed the vilest agents and the grossest injustice to compass his ruin. The king's mind was poisoned against him, and his authority interposed to prevent his escape. Having been driven from court by the successful intrigues of his enemy, Williams applied himself diligently to study, and became exceedingly popular amongst the gentry of his diocese. Laud complained to the king of his munificent hospitality, and a resolution was formed to humble yet further his

CHARLES
I.

Prosecution
of Bishop
Williams.

^h Prelates' Tyranny, 86.

CHARLES I.
July 11,
1637.

CHAP. IV. pride and fortune. The means adopted were characteristic of the parties. Williams had advised Charles to show some indulgence to the puritans, which the latter promised to do. In consequence of this assurance the bishop discouraged the severity of Sir John Lamb and some other ecclesiastical officers, telling them that the king intended to treat his puritan subjects with greater mildness than heretofore. On this flimsy ground he was accused in the Star Chamber of divulging the king's secrets, contrary to his oath as a privy counsellor, and of having circulated reports injurious to his Majesty's government. The proceedings against him were long protracted, and his enemies, fearing his escape, substituted another charge in the place of the one already preferred. He was accused of tampering with the king's witnesses, and was finally sentenced to be fined £10,000, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to be suspended from all his ecclesiastical offices. The malice of Laud was yet unsatisfied. He wished to effect the deprivation of his adversary, in order to which two bishops and three doctors were sent to the Tower to examine him on a long series of articles. But the wariness and self-possession of Williams enabled him to defeat this design of his enemy.

Another occasion, however, was found against him, in two letters discovered by the king's officers amongst his papers. These were from a Mr. Osbaldestone, the head master of Westminster Grammar School, and were supposed to contain allusions to the Lord Treasurer Weston and the Archbishop of Canterbury. To these distinguished personages

the writer was alleged to have referred as “the great leviathan,” the “little urchin,” and “the little meddling hocus-pocus.” The possession of these letters was deemed so heinous an offence that the bishop and his correspondent were prosecuted in the Star Chamber for having “plotted together to divulge false news and lies, to breed a disturbance in the state, and difference between two great persons and peers of the realm.” Upon this absurd charge Williams was sentenced to pay £5000 to the king, and £3000 to Laud, to be imprisoned during the king’s pleasure, and to make a submission. Osbaldistone’s sentence was still more severe. He was to be fined £5000 to the king, and an equal sum to the archbishop, was to be deprived of all spiritual promotions and dignities, to stand in the pillory before his school, to have his ears nailed to it, and then to be imprisoned during pleasure.¹

In the other prosecutions which Laud instigated, the intolerance and bigotry of the *ecclesiastic* are apparent;—we see the hardheartedness and cruelty of the *state priest*, under the hypocritical disguise of religious zeal. But, in the case of Williams, the meanness, the base ingratitude, and the malignity of the *man* are apparent. His personal qualities are seen, and they constitute him an object of hatred and

¹ Rushworth, ii. 416—449, 803—817; Fuller, xi. 155—159; Brodie, ii. 348—373. Osbaldistone was in court, and heard several of his judges give sentence against him. He then thought it prudent to retire, and, repairing to his school, he left on the desk a paper, on which he had written,

“If the archbishop inquire after me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury.” Messengers were sent to the ports to apprehend him, but he was concealed in a private house in Drury Lane, where he continued till the meeting of the Long Parliament.

CHARLES
I.

Feb. 14,
1638.

CHARLES CHAP. IV. loathing to every virtuous mind. “ This prosecution,” says Warburton, speaking of the case of I. Williams, “ must needs give one a very bad idea of Laud’s heart and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power in the state into reverence and gratitude to his master ; his tyranny in the church to his zeal for, and love of, what he called religion ; but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can be resolved into nothing but envy and revenge ; and actions like these they were which occasioned all that bitter, but indeed just, exclamation against the bishops, in the speeches of Lord Falkland and Lord Digby.”^k

Press restrained,
July, 1637.

These proceedings of the archbishop, though they struck terror into the timid, were not permitted to pass without severe animadversion. Numerous pamphlets issued from the press, in which he was represented as the great enemy of his country, and the corrupter of the worship of God. His puritan opponents, aware that no mercy was to be expected at his hands, threw themselves with ominous resolution into the struggle. They embarked their lives in the contest ; and, appealing to the judgments and passions of their countrymen, endeavoured to arouse them to a sense of the common danger. Laud saw their policy, and attempted to defeat it by obtaining a decree from the Star Chamber, which laid the press under severer restrictions than it had yet endured. No book was to be printed unless licensed, with all its titles, epistles, and prefaces, by the Archbishop, or the Bishop of London, or by their appointment ; and,

^k Remarks on Neal, Works, xii. 391.

within the limits of the universities, by their respective chancellors or vice-chancellors ; under the penalty of the printer being disabled from following his vocation, and incurring such other punishment as the Star Chamber or the High Commission Court should think proper to inflict. No foreign books were to be offered for sale till a catalogue of them had been furnished to the Archbishop, or the Bishop of London, one of whose chaplains, or some other person appointed by their lordships, was to be present when such books were unpacked, and to examine them. All schismatical or offensive books discovered on such occasions were to be taken to the aforesaid bishops, or to the High Commission, that their authors might be punished. The printing in foreign parts of English books, or books whereof the greater part was English, whether formerly printed or not, was strictly forbidden, and new editions of works already licensed were not to be printed without renewed permission. And, finally, it was ordered, that if any person, not an allowed printer, " shall presume to set up a press for printing, or to work at any such press, or set and compose letters for the same," he should be set in the pillory, and be whipped through the city of London.¹ By these measures the dominant party

¹ Rushworth, ii. 463 ; iii. App. 306—315. By virtue of this ordinance, licenses were refused for several books written against popery and arminianism. Even Fox's Book of Martyrs, and Bishop Jewel's works were prohibited. Such was the much-lauded protestantism of Laud. Cant. Doome, 184. To this policy of the archbishop Sir Edward Deering referred, with well-merited censure,

in the House of Commons, on the 23d of November, 1640. "With the papists," said he, "there is a mysterious artifice, I mean their *Index expurgatorius*, whereby they clip the tongues of such witnesses whose evidence they do not like. To this I parallel our late *Imprimaturs*—licenses for the press so handled that truth is suppressed, and popish pamphlets fly abroad, *cum privilegio*. Wit-

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. IV. hoped to prevent the circulation of opinions hostile
CHARLES to their views, and to deprive the victims of their

I. tyranny of that sympathy and encouragement which
the narrative of their sufferings was found to
awaken. The policy of the popedom was thus
imitated by the rulers of a protestant church, to
the great scandal of their profession, and the
manifest injury of the cause they professed to
serve.

ness the audacious and libelling pamphlets against true religion by Pocklington, Heylin, Dow, Cosins, Shelford, Swan, Reeves, Yates, Hansted, Studley, Sparrow, Brown, Roberts — many more: I name no bishops, but I add, &c. Nay they are already grown so bold in this new trade, that the most learned labors of our ancient and best divines must now be corrected and defaced with a *deleatur*, by the supercilious pen of my lord's young chaplain (fit, perhaps) for the

technical arts, but unfit to hold the chair for divinity. But herein the *Roman Index* is better than our *English Licences*. They thereby do preserve the current of their own established doctrines: a point of wisdom. But with us our *innovators* by this artifice do alter our settled doctrines; nay they do subinduce points repugnant and contrariant. And this I dare assume upon myself to prove." Sir Edw. Deering's Speeches, 7.

CHAPTER V.

Emigration to New England—And to Holland—Ominous state of the Nation—Ship Money—John Hampden—Success of his Opposition—Ecclesiastical Proceedings in Scotland—First Expedition against the Scotch—Meeting of the English Parliament—Convocation—New Canons—Second Expedition against the Scotch.

THE vexatious and ruinous prosecutions, to which the Puritans were now subjected by the Archbishop and his brethren, induced many of them to sell their estates, and to proceed to New England. But, with a refinement of cruelty, as impolitic as it was detestable, the government endeavoured to prevent their departure, by issuing a proclamation commanding the officers of the sea-ports not to permit any to proceed to the American plantations, without a license from his Majesty's commissioners, or a certificate from two justices of the peace, that they had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a testimony from the minister of the parish wherein they resided, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church of England.^a The same vigilance was subsequently extended to the Clergy, by a proclamation which stated, “that

CHAP. V.
CHARLES
I.

Emigration to
New England
prohibited.

April 30,
1637.

May 1, 1638.

^a Rushworth, ii. 409.

CHARLES I. CHAP. V. ministers unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church do frequently transport themselves to the Summer islands, and other plantations abroad, where they take liberty to nourish and preserve their factious and schismatical humours, to the seducing and abusing of his Majesty's subjects, and the hinderance of that good conformity and unity in the Church, which his Majesty is careful and desirous to establish throughout his dominions."

The Lord Admiral was therefore required to permit none to transport themselves without the approbation of Laud, and the Bishop of London ; and to bring back such as had proceeded without their permission.^b These proclamations exhibited without disguise the unrelenting intolerance and rancour of the Archbishop. A cool and sagacious statesman would have rejoiced in the voluntary banishment of men, whose views were hostile to his measures ; but Laud was to be satisfied with nothing short of their conformity or destruction. To permit their escape from his power, would have been gall and wormwood to a heart which combined the malevolence of personal hatred with the fierce bigotry and unhallowed pride of the state priest. He paid dearly for his folly ; and involved his master and associates in his ruin. By the proclamation of May 1, eight vessels were detained in the Thames, and an order was issued for the relanding of their passengers and stores. Amongst the former were the Lords Say and Brook, Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell ; men who were destined to

^b Rushworth, ii. 410.

act a distinguished part in the approaching struggle, CHAP. V.
and to whose energy, and wisdom, and unity of purpose, much of its early success is attributable.^c CHARLES I.
Had they been permitted to proceed on their voyage, that struggle might have been deferred, if not averted ; and the power of Charles, surviving the collisions of party, and the conflict of opinion, might have availed, not only for his own preservation, but for the protection of those ministers who had been the unscrupulous instruments of his despotism.^d

Being prevented from proceeding to America, many of those who were disaffected to the Church of England, sought refuge in Holland. Amongst these exiles were Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridge, and Sympson ; who were afterwards known as the leaders of the Independent party, and who

^c Neal, ii. 287. Harris's Life of O. Cromwell, 54. Hume, vi. 239. The last writer represents Hampden and his associates as mainly influenced, in their intended emigration, by a desire to attend long sermons, on which Lord Nugent pertinently remarks. "No vindication this for detaining them from that enjoyment, if such were their sober and innocent taste. But, unfortunately for a jest at any rate ill suited to the character of just and impartial history, it appears, first, that the total infraction of all the conditions of the petition of right, and the hazard to which the persons and property of these men had been brought, were motives sufficient to account for the desire of emigration, without the necessity of imputing it to a mere passion for long sermons. Secondly, the Presbyterians were the long preachers, and not the Inde-

pendents. And Hampden, and Cromwell, and their followers, were Independents, and not Presbyterians." Memorials of Hampden, i. 255.

^d Mr. Hallam justly remarks on this occurrence, "Besides the reflections which such an instance of destructive infatuation must suggest, there are two things not unworthy to be remarked : first, that these chiefs of the Puritan sect, far from entertaining those schemes of overturning the government at home, that have been imputed to them, looked only in 1638 to escape from imminent tyranny ; and secondly, that the views of the Archbishop were not so much to render the Church and the Crown secure from the attempts of disaffected men, as to gratify a malignant humour by persecuting them." Const. Hist. ii. 80.

CHAP. V. constituted that section of the Assembly of Divines
CHARLES which was called the *Dissenting Brethren*. Several

I. laymen accompanied them ; and they were received with courtesy by the Dutch authorities. Even Heylin unintentionally bears witness to the religious character of their motives in this emigration. “ When they found,” says this most unscrupulous of historians, “ that all their stirring was in vain, that they had lost the comfort of their lecturers, and that their ministers began to shrink at the very name of a visitation, it was no hard matter for those ministers and lecturers to persuade them to remove their dwellings, and transport their trades. The sun of heaven, say they, doth shine as comfortably in other places, the Sun of Righteousness much brighter. Better to go and dwell in Goshen, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such an Egyptian darkness as was then falling on this land. The sinful corruptions of the Church, said they, were now grown so general, there was no place free from that contagion, and infections of it; and therefore *go out of her, my people, and be not partaker of her sins.*”^e It might consist with the principles of such a man as Heylin, to deride the scruples of these religious emigrants ; but the conscientious of all parties will unite, with generous emulation, to honour their integrity, pity their sufferings, and applaud their decision.

Ominous state
of the nation. The liberties of England were now apparently prostrate at the feet of a despotic sovereign. An experiment was being made on the public mind, the issue of which was to determine the complexion

^e Life of Laud, 367. Neal, ii. 288.

that the Government should assume. No Parliament had been summoned for several years; and the King's determination, not to permit the assembling of another, was well known. His proclamations were substituted for parliamentary statutes; and the guardians of the law, in violation of their trust, lent themselves to his nefarious and tyrannical schemes. The ministers of the law, and the priests of the temple, conspired against their country's freedom; and the degree of success which had hitherto attended their measures, encouraged the hope of ultimate triumph. The citadel of English liberty was assailed by all the forces which an arbitrary Court could array against it. The Monarch and his advisers felt that the crisis of the struggle was arrived. The die was cast, and they waited the issue. The imperious Wentworth brought all the powers of his gigantic mind to the service of his master, and found in Laud a worthy coadjutor, who possessed his inflexibility of purpose, without inheriting his capacious intellect. But there was an under-current which their sagacity failed to detect. The nation, though comparatively silent, were not unconcerned spectators of what was taking place. Their hereditary freedom was too highly prized to be relinquished without a struggle. The courage and wisdom and virtue of ancient patriots survived in many of their descendants; and thousands who groaned in private, were ready to swear, by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that they would yet vindicate the honour of their country, and hand down undiminished to their chil-
CHAP. V.
CHARLES
I.

CHAP. V. dren the sacred deposit, which they had received
from olden times.¹

CHARLES

1.

A contemporary historian gives the following account of the state of parties:—"Whilst the kingdom was in this condition, the serious and just men of England, who were no way interested in the emoluments of these oppressions, could not but entertain sad thoughts and presages of what mischiefs must needs follow so great an injustice; that things carried so far on in a wrong way, must needs either enslave themselves and posterity for ever, or require a vindication so sharp and smarting as that the nation would groan under it; and, though the times were jolly for the present, yet, having observed the judgments of God upon other secure nations, they could not choose but fear the sequel. Another sort of men, and especially lords and gentlemen, by whom the pressures of the government were not much felt, who enjoyed their own plentiful fortunes with little or insensible detriment, looking no farther than their present safety and prosperity, and the yet undisturbed peace of the nation, whilst other kingdoms were embroiled in calamities, and Germany sadly wasted by a sharp war, did nothing but applaud the happiness of *England*, and call those ungrateful and factious spirits who complained of the breach of laws and liberties; that the kingdom abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kinds of elegancies, more than ever; that it was for the honour of a people that the monarch should live splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his prerogative, which would bring him into the greater esteem with other princes, and more enable him to prevail in treaties; that what

they suffered by monopolies was insensible and not grievous, if compared with other states; that the Duke of Tuscany sat heavier upon his people in that very kind; that the French King had made himself an absolute lord, and quite depressed the power of Parliaments, which had been there as great as in any kingdom, and yet that *France* flourished, and the gentry lived well; that the Austrian princes, especially in Spain, laid heavy burdens upon their subjects.

"The courtiers would begin to dispute against parliaments in their ordinary discourse; that they were cruel to those whom the King favoured, and too injurious to his prerogative; that the late Parliament stood upon too high terms with the King; and that they hoped the King should never need any more parliaments. Some of the greatest statesmen and privy counsellors would ordinarily laugh at the ancient language of *England*, when the word *Liberty of the Subject* was named. But these gentlemen, who seemed so forward in taking up their own yoke, were but a small part of the nation (though a number considerable enough to make a reformation hard) compared with those gentlemen who were sensible of their birth-rights, and the true interests of the kingdom; on which side the common people in the generality, and the country freeholders stood, who would rationally argue of their own rights, and those oppressions that were laid upon them." May's Long Parliament, 12.

Mrs. Hutchinson's account of the state of parties is similar. Life of Col Hutchinson, i. 151.

An illegal impost, known by the name of ship-money, from its being applied to the equipment and maintenance of the navy, had for some years been levied by the King. Several had resisted its payment, and appealed to the laws for protection ; but corrupt judges refused to permit its legality to be questioned ; and one of them went so far, in the case of Mr. Chambers, a merchant of London, as to assert in open court, “ that there was a rule of law, and a rule of government ; and that many things which might not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the rule of government.”^g

The ministers of Charles at length deemed it advisable to permit the question to be discussed in a court of law ; and the case of John Hampden was selected as the one on which judgment should be given. He was a private gentleman of ancient family, and of large estate in Buckinghamshire ; a man of unblemished virtue, whose reputation speedily became the property of his country, as his spirited defence of its liberties constituted the redeeming feature of this period. He had hitherto been little known beyond his own county, where he was universally respected and beloved ; but his fearless and high-minded patriotism now prompted him to oppose the illegal exactions of the Crown, by refusing the payment of twenty shillings, in which amount he was assessed for an estate in the parish of Stoke Mandeville. The sum was insignificant, but the principle involved was all-important. A man of less decision and moral courage would have shrunk from awakening the wrath of a

CHARLES
I.

Ship-money.

John
Hampden.

CHARLES I. CHAP. V. Court which knew no mercy ; but Hampden united to great equanimity of temper, and an entire self-command, a resolution which no threatenings or dangers could appal. The case was apparently hopeless ; but, with a resolution which entitled him to success, he threw himself into the breach, determined to repel the enemy, or to perish beneath the ruins of the Constitution. “ He had cast himself,” says his biographer, “ behind the defences of the law. The lines were still entire ; the watch-towers and ramparts stood, but dismantled ; and the garrison, for the most part, were corrupted or destroyed.”^h The case was argued in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the judges ; and the pleadings occupied twelve days. Some months elapsed before their decision was made known, when it was found that they were far from being unanimous in their opinion. A majority, however, gave judgment in favour of the Crown.ⁱ The courtiers proclaimed a triumph ; but, from this moment, the fate of the illegal impost was sealed. The unanswerable reasonings of St. John, and Holborne, who nobly pleaded the cause of English liberty in the case of their client, made a deep impression on the public mind ; while the difference

^h Nugent’s Hampden, i. 237.

ⁱ Rushworth, ii. 480—600. Whitelocke, 24. Hallam, ii. 23—33. Nugent’s Hampden, i. 228—247. Croke and Hutton were the only two who denied the alleged prerogative of the Crown, and the lawfulness of the writ for ship-money. Whitelocke informs us that the former of these had intended, contrary to the dictate of his judgment, to give an opinion in favour of the Crown,

but was prevented from doing so by the noble conduct of his wife, “ a very good and pious woman,” who told him “ That she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family ; and that she would be contented to suffer want, or any misery with him, rather than be an occasion for him to do, or say, anything against his judgment and conscience.” Mem. 24.

of opinion amongst the judges themselves confirmed CHAP. V
 the general persuasion of the illegality of the CHARLES
 tax. Its collection was thus rendered more difficult than ever. It was opposed in every county; and became a rallying point to the party which was destined speedily to rescue the land from the arbitrary impositions of the King.^k

The patriotic object of Hampden was completely achieved. He succeeded in arousing his countrymen to a sense of danger. Having broken up their false security, he well knew what must follow. No doubt was now entertained of the despotic designs of the Court. Hampden's trial had served to reveal them; and men consequently felt that it was necessary to combine for their common safety. So deep was the interest awakened in the public mind, that Hampden instantly became the idol of his countrymen. Even Clarendon, unfairly as he generally deals with the character of opponents, is compelled to acknowledge that his conduct won universal applause. "He was rather of reputation in his own country," he tells us, "than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money; but then he grew the argument of all tongues; every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at

Success of his opposition.

^k Clarendon and Laud lament the injurious consequences which flowed from this proceeding. Hist. of Rebellion, i. 122. The latter, writing to Wentworth, May 14, 1638, complains that Croke and Hutton had given judgment against the King. "The accidents which have followed upon it already," he adds, are these: First, the faction are grown very bold. Secondly, the King's moneys come in a great

deal more slowly than they did in former years, and that to a very considerable sum. Thirdly, it puts thoughts into wise and moderate men's heads, which were better out; for they think, if the judges which are behind, do not their parts both exceeding well and thoroughly, it may much dis temper this extraordinary and great service." Strafford's Letters, ii. 170.

CHAP. V. his own charge, support the liberty and property of
CHARLES I. the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought,
from being a prey to the Court. And the judgment
that was given against him infinitely more
advanced him than the service for which it was
given."¹

Ecclesiastical proceedings in Scotland. The time was now rapidly approaching when the laws were to be vindicated, and the unscrupulous ministers of a despotic monarch brought to condign punishment. The crisis was hastened by the indiscreet zeal with which Laud attempted to force episcopacy, with its ceremonial appendages, on the Scottish people. Despising their scruples, and regardless of their complaints, he projected an entire alteration in the constitution and worship of their church. When they ventured to remonstrate against his schemes, and to claim the right of deciding for themselves, he returned them the language of stern reproof, and refused even to listen to the prudential advice of the more wary and experienced of the king's Scottish ministers. His infatuation proved the safety of the nation. The disciples of John Knox, who retained much of his zeal, refused to barter the faith received from their fathers, for one which they regarded as deeply tinged with the abominations of popery. Their complaints were loud and universal. The canons, liturgy, and bishops introduced by Laud were detested as the badges of prelatical superstition and tyranny, and the popular feeling was frequently so strong and ungovernable as to show itself in deeds of violence. Goaded at length to

¹ Hist. of Rebellion, iv. 91.

resistance, the nation flew to arms, and thus furnished to the patriots of England the opportunity for which they had long waited.

The king advanced towards the north, at the head of his army, with an avowed intention of subduing his refractory subjects, and of severely punishing their disobedience. But the soldiers of Charles sympathized with the presbyterians of Scotland rather than with the bishops, on whose behalf they were called to fight. Most of the nobility who attended the monarch disliked the war, and serious doubts were entertained whether the officers and men could be relied on in the struggle. This state of things induced Charles to listen to the overtures of the Scotch, who protested their loyalty, and prayed that justice might be done them in the matter of religion. A pacification was ultimately agreed on, by which it was arranged that the two armies should immediately be disbanded, and an assembly and parliament be called for the settlement of the questions in dispute.^m

The terms of this pacification were subsequently matter of dispute; and both parties, finding the inutility of further negociation, made a second appeal to arms. The king's habitual insincerity prevented the covenanters from placing any reliance on his word; and their determination to abolish episcopacy, and to preserve the simplicity of their own worship, was utterly incompatible with his secret design. A second expedition against the Scotch was therefore resolved on, but, as the exchequer was already exhausted, and, as no hope

CHARLES
I.

First expedi-
tion against
the Scotch.

June 13,
1639.

^m Clarendon, i. 217; May, 35.

CHARLES I. CHAP. V. remained of obtaining, at the present juncture, an adequate supply for the king's necessities by illegal methods, his ministers and council recommended the calling of a parliament.ⁿ It was probably expected that the national pride of the English, offended by the entrance of a Scotch army into the kingdom, would promptly grant a liberal subsidy. Though the resolution to call a parliament was taken so early as the 5th of December, the writs were issued for the 13th of April—"a fact which establishes beyond all doubt, that the object was not only to gain time for intrigue in the ensuing elections, but to defer the meeting till the plea of necessity for an instant grant should appear irresistible."^o

Meeting of
English Par-
liament, April
13, 1640.

The king opened the house in person, briefly stating "his desire to be again acquainted with parliaments after so long an intermission; and to receive the advice and assistance of his subjects there." But the language of the lord keeper, Sir John Finch, on whom was devolved the task of stating to the house the objects for which they were summoned, ill comported with this affected moderation. "His Majesty's kingly resolutions," said this unprincipled courtier, "are seated in the ark of his sacred breast, and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any Uzziah, uncalled, to touch it; yet his Majesty is now pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phaëton, that the distance between sovereignty and

ⁿ The council pledged themselves to the king, by a distinct resolution, to assist him by extraordinary ways, "if the parlia-

ment should prove peevish, and refuse." Laud's Diary, 57.

^o Brodie, ii. 518.

subjection should not barr you of that filial freedom CHAP. V. of access to his person and counsels: only let us ——————
 beware now with the son of Clymene, we aim not CHARLES
 I.
 at the guiding of the chariot; as if that were the only testimony of fatherly affection; but let us ever remember, that though the king sometimes lays by the beams and rays of majesty, he never lays by majesty itself.” The lord keeper then expatiated on the misconduct of the Scotch, and urged the necessities of the king, stating his Majesty’s desire that the question of supplies should have precedence of all others, and that no time should be lost in enabling him to take the field against his rebellious subjects.^p

The house proceeded with great temper and moderation. Yet the spirit of its predecessors was evidenced in a resolution to give immediate attention to the national grievances; which were divided into three classes, innovations in religion, invasions of property, and violations of parliamentary privileges.^q The king strenuously endeavoured to recal attention to his wants, but the Commons persisted in their determination; and when the House of Lords, induced by the royal influence, ventured to press on them the question of supply, they voted its interposition a breach of privilege. Despairing of the object for which alone he had convened the parliament, and dreading the consequences of further deliberation, he hastily summoned the two houses to Whitehall, and dissolved them.^r This step was fatal to

^p Clarendon, i. 232; Parl. Hist., ii. 528—534.

^q Parl. Hist., ii. 561.

^r Parl. Hist., ii. 563, 571. Whitelocke informs us that the

dissolution was generally attributed to Laud. 32. The day after the dissolution, Mr. Bellasis, Sir John Hotham, and Mr. Crew were committed to prison. The

CHARLES CHAP. V. the king. It opened the eyes of the most confiding of his subjects, and went far to satisfy the nation

I. that much of the previous misgovernment was attributable to his personal influence. "It is impossible," says Lord Northumberland, at that time a courtier, "that things can long continue in the condition they are now in; so general a defection in this kingdom hath not been known in the memory of any."^s Clarendon informs us that the king speedily regretted the step he had taken, and consulted his ministers whether he could not recal the house.^t But the crisis had passed: he had thrown from him the only opportunity he was to have of retracing his steps, and of establishing himself in the affectionate confidence of his people. The irritation which ensued on the dissolution soured the public mind, and gave increased fixedness of purpose to its leaders.^u

first two were speedily released, but the last continued in confinement for some months. The pockets, cabinets, and studies of the Earl of Warwick and of the Lord Brook were also searched for papers. May, 41; Parl. Hist., ii. 667.

^s Hallam, ii. 125.

^t Hist. of Rebellion, i. 247.

^u "There could not," says Clarendon, "a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation, than this dissolution caused; and men had much of the misery in view which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given which put the king to that resolution. But it was observed that

in the countenances of those who had most opposed all that was desired by his Majesty, there was a marvellous serenity; nor could they conceal the joy of their hearts; for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the king would be shortly compelled to call another parliament; and they were as sure that so many, so grave, and unbiassed men would never be elected again.

"Within an hour after the dissolving, Mr. Hyde met Mr. St. John, who had naturally a great cloud in his face, and very seldom was known to smile, but then had a most cheerful aspect; and, seeing the other melancholic, as in truth he was from his heart, asked him, 'What troubled him?' who answered, 'that the same that troubled him he believed troubled most good men; that in

The sittings of the convocation were, according CHAP. V.
 to ancient custom, terminated by the dissolution of parliament. But the extreme folly of the king's advisers led them to issue a commission under the great seal for their continuance. The CHARLES I. prudence and legality of such a step would have been questionable at any period, but, in the present excited state of the public mind, it was an act of madness for which no temporary advantage could atone. Regardless, however, of consequences, the rulers of the church acted on this dubious authority, and speedily carried through both houses a series of articles for the government of the church and the regulation of the conduct of its ministers.^x These New canons adopted. canons enjoined an absolute submission to those in authority, and attempted to invest with a legal character the ceremonies recently introduced.^y Numerous objections were urged against them by many of the clergy; and the oath enjoined by the sixth canon on all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, all masters of arts (the sons of noblemen only excepted), all bachelors, and doctors in divinity, law, and physic, together with all regis-

such a time of confusion so wise a parliament, which alone could have found remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed; the other answered, with a little warmth, 'That all was well, and that it must be worse before it could be better; and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done, as indeed it would not, what he and his friends thought necessary.' Hist. of Rebellion, i. 246.

^x Sparrow's Collection, 345—371; Neal, ii. 299—305.

^y The first canon, "concerning the regal power," inculcates the

slavish doctrine of passive obedience in the following terms: "For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the Powers which are ordained of God. And though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, *They shall receive to themselves damnation.*" Such language, however gratifying to a despotic court, was ill adapted to secure to the church the confidence of a nation groaning under a merciless tyranny.

CHARLES CHAP. V. ters, actuaries, proctors, and schoolmasters, in which, amongst other things, they were required to swear,

1. “Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons,” &c., was very extensively and loudly condemned. Several of the bishops were extremely zealous in pressing this oath, and required it to be taken by the clergy on their knees; but others, amongst whom was the estimable Bishop Hall, permitted their clergy to take it in a modified sense.² The London clergy, together with the ministers, physicians, and schoolmasters of several counties, petitioned against it; and Dr. Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, informed Laud “that multitudes of clergymen, not only of the preciser sort, but of such as were regular and conformable, would utterly refuse to take the oath, or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctance; so that, unless by his Majesty’s special direction, the pressing of the oath may be forbore for a time; or that a short explanation of some passages in it, most liable to exception, be sent to the several persons who are to administer the same, to be publicly read before the tender of the said oath,—the peace of this church is apparently in danger to be more disquieted by this one occasion than by any thing that has happened within our memories.”³ The

² Fuller, xi. 171; Jones’s Life of Bishop Hall, 181.

³ Nalson, i. 497; Rushworth, ii. 1205—1209. Baxter tells us that the ministers of Shropshire, in which county he then resided, held a meeting at Bridgnorth, to discuss the propriety of taking this oath, and that the majority were against it. He was thus induced to examine more tho-

roughly the questions in dispute between the Nonconformists and their opponents, and the result was his adhesion to the former. “Thus,” he says, “the *et cætera* oath, which was imposed on us for the unalterable subjecting of us to diocesans, was a chief means to alienate me and many others from it. For now our drowsy mindlessness of that sub-

opposition was so general, that the king, to whom CHAP. V.
the support of the clergy at this juncture was highly
important, commanded the oath to be tendered CHARLES
I.
only to those who sought admission to the church,
and afterwards enjoined that it should, for the pre-
sent, be dispensed with even in the case of such.^b

The attention of the government was now again directed to the Scotch, who, having collected a considerable force, entered the north of England. The embarrassed state of the royal finances delayed the king's preparations; but he proceeded, at length, to York, with the intention of chastising his rebellious subjects. His army was commanded by the Earls of Northumberland and Strafford, the latter of whom especially was intent on a vigorous prosecution of the war. But it was soon found that the attachment of the soldiers to the cause in which they were embarked was more than doubtful. They termed it the bishops' war, and were encouraged in their disaffection by many of the officers. The citizens of London petitioned the king, complaining of grievances, and asking for a parliament. Several popular peers united in a similar request, and even his counsellors, seeing the desperate condition of affairs, were induced to give the same

Second expedi-
tion against
the Scotch,
1640.

ject was shaken off by their violence; and we that thought it best to follow our business, and live in quietude, and let the bishops alone, were roused by the terrors of an oath to look about us, and understand what we did. This oath also stirred up the different parties (who before were all one party, *quiet Conformists*) to speak more bitterly against one another than heretofore. And the dissenting party began to

think better of the cause of Nonconformity, and to honor the Nonconformists more than they had done." Sylvester's Baxter, 16. Thus it frequently happens with the measures which tyranny adopts for the advancement of its schemes. Their violence produces a reaction favorable to the cause they were intended to crush.

^b Nalson, i. 499.

CHAP. V. advice. In hope of being extricated from his difficulties, the king summoned a great council of the CHARLES I. nobility to meet at York on the 24th of September, when he announced his determination to summon a parliament for the 3rd of November following, and asked advice respecting the manner in which he should treat with the Scotch, and provide supplies for his destitute troops. The treaty of Ripon, which speedily followed, proclaimed to the country the weakness of the monarch, and the approaching triumph of the popular party.^c

^c Rushworth, ii. 1263; Parl. Hist. ii. 585—591; Clarendon, i. 273.

CHAPTER VI.

Meeting of Long Parliament—Ecclesiastical Views of the Members—Consideration of Grievances—Sir Benjamin Rudyard's Speech—Petitions against the Hierarchy—in favour of it—Strength of the Episcopal Party—Petitions referred to a Committee—Lord Digby's Speech against the Bishops—Lord Falkland's—Canons condemned—Impeachment of Strafford—His Trial—Execution and character—Impeachment of Laud.

THE deplorable condition of his affairs now CHAP. VI.
compelled the king once more to summon the repre-
sentatives of his people. Both parties made their
appeal to the country, and exerted their utmost
strength to carry the election of their respective
candidates. But the unpopularity of the court was
fatal to the success of its supporters, and a large
majority of opponents was in consequence re-
turned.* No assembly has been described in more
various and conflicting lights. By the one party it
has been represented as unequalled in the purest
days of Greece and Rome;—as composed of the
most enlightened, sagacious, upright, and patriotic
men whom any age or country has produced, and

CHARLES
I.

Meeting of
Long Parlia-
ment, Nov.
3, 1640.

* Whitelocke, 35.

CHARLES I. CHAP. VI. as guided in its deliberations by a capacity for government only equalled by the rectitude of its designs. But by the other party it has been pourtrayed as a compound of all the factious and fanatical spirits of the day ;—as intent from the first on the overthrow of all legitimate authority, and influenced throughout its proceedings by a selfish and most unprincipled ambition. “They were the chosen representatives of the Commons of England,” says one who has pronounced an unsparing judgment on their faults, “in an age more eminent for steady and scrupulous conscientiousness in private life, than any perhaps that had gone before or has followed; not the demagogues or adventurers of transient popularity, but men well born and wealthy, than whom there could perhaps never be assembled five hundred more adequate to redress the grievances, or to fix the laws of a great nation.”^b

The hopes of the nation were now excited to the utmost, while those of the court party were proportionably depressed. The necessities of the king had alone induced him to summon a parliament, and the patriotic leaders consequently felt that he was at their mercy. “They were confident that that freedom which the fundamental laws and constitution of the kingdom of England allow to parliaments, could not be denied to this (though to many others it had long been), as being that parliament to which the king was necessitated; and the only way which was now left him to tread, after so many deviations unfortunately tried; and

^b Hallam, ii. 141.

upon which the people had set up their utmost hope, whom it seemed not safe, after so long suffering, to provoke any further.”^c The king evidently felt his humbled and dependant circumstances, and his speech at the opening of parliament was therefore moderate and conciliatory. He promised to concur with them “heartily and clearly” in the redress of grievances, and closed by remarking, “One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy parliament, that you, on your parts, as I, on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another; for as I promised my lords at York, it shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good parliament.”^d This speech was highly gratifying to the two houses, who soon proceeded to test its sincerity. A great change had passed upon the country party since the dissolution of the last parliament. Their language was become more bold and decided, their views more comprehensive, and their determination to bring the evil counsellors of the king to punishment more thoroughly fixed.^e “There was observed,” says Clarendon, “a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members of parliament before they met together in the house; the same men who six months before were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied without opening

^c May, 45.

^d Parl. Hist. ii. 629, 630.

^e Wentworth, now created Earl of Strafford, dreading this parliament, earnestly pressed the king to be permitted to repair to Ireland, or to some other distant place. But Charles, mainly relying on the fidelity, firmness, and sagacity of the Lord Lieutenant,

refused his request, promising, at the same time, “that the parliament should not touch one hair of his head.” The minister remained to forward the service of his master, and learnt, by bitter experience, the folly of trusting in princes. Whitelocke, 36; Forster’s Strafford, 378.

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. VI. the wound too wide, and exposing it to the air, and
 CHARLES I. rather to cure what was amiss, than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked now in another dialect, both of things and persons ; and said, ‘ that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament ; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter ; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties ;’ and used much other sharp discourse to the same purpose, by which it was discerned that the warmest and boldest counsels and overtures would find a much better reception than those of a more temperate alloy, which fell out accordingly.”^f

Ecclesiastical views of the Members.

A majority of the two houses was favourable to episcopacy, though desirous of an extensive revision of the offices, emoluments, and discipline of the Church. They were intent on the reformation, rather than on the overthrow of the existing system ; and would probably, at first, have been satisfied with comparatively limited concessions. They were the advocates of a moderate episcopacy, such as Usher approved, and to which Baxter would have conformed ; a system but slightly distinguished from the presbyterianism for which the latter, in common with many of his brethren, subsequently pleaded.

^f Hist. of Rebellion, i. 298.

A few members of the House were thoroughly opposed to the episcopal order, and advocated a simpler and more scriptural form of church government than that of the Hierarchy.^s But their number, as yet, was exceedingly small, and their views were consequently bounded by the narrower policy, and the more limited design of their associates.

^s Clarendon, i. 322. 356. 409, 410. Neal. ii. 313. "How this matter will go," says Principal Baillie, in a letter dated February 28, 1641, "the Lord knows; all are for the erecting of a kind of presbytery, and for bringing down the bishops in all things, spiritual and temporal, so low as can be with any subsistence; but their utter abolition, which is the only aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question. We must have it cut by the axe of prayer. God, we trust, will do it." Letters, i. 245. The growth of presbyterianism was exceedingly rapid. May, speaking of the popular feeling respecting the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Orange, May ii. 1641, tells us the people were generally pleased with it, "they (the Dutch) being professors of the same religion, and in that kind of discipline to which the greatest part of the Parliament and the people of England were inclined, and to which they hoped (though that hope was not at that time so fully declared as it was afterwards) to reform the Church of England, as that of Scotland had been reformed to it already." p. 73.

The opposition which the early and more moderate measures of the Commons, for the reform of episcopacy, encountered from the bishops and their adherents, was the main cause of the change which took place so rapidly in the temper of the House. "I am now the instrument," said Sir

CHARLES I.
Edward Deering, on the 27th of May, 1641, in introducing a bill for the abolishing all archbishops, bishops, &c., "to present unto you a very short, but a very sharp bill; such as these times and their sad necessity have brought forth. It speaks a free language, and makes a bold request." It is a purging bill. I give it you as I take physic, not for a delight, but for a cure. A cure now, the last and only cure, if (as I hope) all other remedies have first been tried. I never was for ruin, so long as I could hold any hope of reformation. My hopes that way are even almost withered. . . . Sir, you see, their demerits have exposed them, *Publici odii piacularis victimas*. I am sorry they are so ill; I am more sorry that they will not be content to be bettered, which I did hope would have been effected by our last bill. When this bill is perfected, I shall give a sad *aye* unto it. And at the delivery in thereof, I do now profess before hand, that if my former hopes of a *full reformation* may yet revive and prosper; I will again divide my sense upon this bill, and yield my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawful, and just episcopacy: yet so as that I will never be wanting with my utmost pains and prayers to root out all the undue adjuncts to it, and superstructures on it." Sir Edward Deering's Speeches, 26. Parl. Hist. ii. 815.

CHAP. VI. The schemes subsequently broached by Hampden,
CHARLES Pym, and their compatriots, were the growth of
I. circumstances. They were based, indeed, on general principles, but assumed a new form, according to the complexion and tide of events. Men were suddenly aroused from a stupor which had benumbed their faculties; and it was only by the collision of hostile intellects, that the whole truth was apprehended, and the extent of the needed remedy perceived. In the mean time, these theological differences presented no bar to a hearty and zealous co-operation. There were objects of common interest, and of paramount importance, to be effected, which united for a season the episcopal, presbyterian, and independent—the civil patriot and the religious reformer.^b

^h Baxter gives the following account of the temper of the House, and the state of parties. “The concord of this parliament consisted not in the unanimity of the persons, (for they were of several tempers as to matters of religion) but in the complication of the interest of those causes which they severally did most concern themselves in. For, as the King had at once imposed the ship-money on the Commonwealth, and permitted the bishops to impose upon the Church their displeasing articles, and bowing towards the altar, and the book for dancing on the Lord’s day, and the Liturgy on *Scotland*, &c., and to suspend or silence abundance of Ministers, that were conformable, for want of this supercanonical conformity; so, accordingly, the Parliament consisted of two sorts of men, who, by the conjunction of these causes, were united in their votes and endeavours for a reformation. One

party made no great matter of these alterations in the Church; but they said, that if parliaments were once down, and our property gone, and arbitrary government set up, and law subjected to the Prince’s will, we were then all slaves, and this they made a thing intolerable, for the remedying of which they said every true *Englishman* could think no price too dear; these the people called good *commonwealth’s men*. The other sort were the more religious men, who were also sensible of all these things, but were much more sensible of the interests of religion; and these most inveighed against the innovations in the Church, the bowing to altars, the book for sports on Sundays, the casting out of Ministers, the troubling of the people by the high commissioned court, the pillory, and cutting off men’s ears (*Mr. Burton’s*, *Mr. Prynne’s*, and *Dr. Bastwick’s*) for speaking against the bishops, the putting down lectures, and after-

On the third day after the opening of the House, CHAP. VI. committees for privileges, religious grievances, and other matters, were appointed by the Commons ; and on the following day, Mr. Pym, in a speech of considerable length, called their attention to the mal-administration of the King's Ministers, especially insisting on their violation of the privileges of Parliament, the injury they had done to religion, and their encroachments on the liberty of the subject. Sir Benjamin Rudyard, whom even the courtiers acknowledged to be one of the most virtuous men of his day, supported the leader of the popular party, in a speech which vividly describes the enormities recently practised. “ Let us fear God,” said he, “ then shall we honour the king more ; for I am persuaded we have been the less prosperous in parliaments, because we have preferred other matters before him. Let religion be our *primum quærite*, for all things else are but et cæteras to it ; yet we may have them too, sooner and surer, if we give God his precedence. We well know what disturbance hath been brought upon the Church, for vain, petty trifles ; how the whole Church, the whole kingdom, hath been troubled where to place a metaphor—an altar. We have seen ministers, their wives, children, and families undone, against law, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, about not dancing upon Sundays. What do these sort of men think will be

Sir Benjamin
Rudyard's
Speech.

noon sermons, and expositions on the Lord's days, with such other things which they thought of greater weight than ship money. But because these latter agreed with the former in the vindication

of the people's propriety and liberties ; the former did the easier concur with them against the proceedings of the Bishops and the high commissioned court.” Sylvester's Baxter, 18.

CHAP. VI. come of themselves, when the master of the house
CHARLES shall come, and find them thus treating their fellow-
I. servants. These inventions are but sieves, made of purpose to winnow the best men ; and that's the devil's occupation. They have a mind to worry preaching ; for I never yet heard of any but diligent preachers that were visited with these and the like devices. They despise prophecy ; and, as one said, ‘They would fain be at something more like the mass that will not bite—a muzzled religion.’ They would evaporate and dispirit the power and vigour of religion, by drawing it out into some solemn, specious formalities—into obsolete antiquated ceremonies, new furbished up. . . . Let them not say that these are the perverse, suspicious, and malicious interpretations of some few factious spirits amongst us, when a Romanist hath bragged, and been congratulated in print, that the face of our church begins to alter, and the language of our religion to change. And Sancta Clara hath published, That if a synod were held, non intermixtis puritanis, setting puritans aside, our articles and their religion would soon be agreed. They have so brought it to pass, that under the name of puritans all our religion is branded, and under a few hard words against Jesuits all popery is countenanced. Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a puritan. Whoever would be governed by the King's laws, he is a puritan. He that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a puritan. Their great work, their masterpiece now is, to make all those of the religion to be the suspected party of the kingdom.”ⁱ

ⁱ Parl. Hist. ii. 644.

Events now proceeded with astonishing rapidity. CHAP. VI.
 The nation was thoroughly roused to the importance of the crisis which had arrived, and was far from evincing a disposition to permit it to pass unimproved. The recollection of the past combined with a dread of the future to give a character of unwonted energy, and of ominous passion, to its proceedings. Society was moved to its centre;—the public mind being pervaded by a strong conviction that some extensive and mighty revolution was about to be effected in its institutions and prospects. The timid looked forward with dread, and the prudent with apprehension; but the bolder and more sanguine spirits of the age proclaimed the approach of a brighter and more auspicious era than had yet dawned on the human family. In the mean time the hopes of the nation were centered in the Parliament. Its table was crowded with petitions; some praying for the reduction, and others for the abolition, of Episcopacy. One of these, known by the name of the root and branch petition, was signed by 15,000 citizens of London. It set forth the evils which had flowed from the government of bishops; and prayed, “that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, may be abolished; and all laws in their behalf made void; and the government, according to God’s word, be rightly placed.”^k

CHARLES I.

Petitions
against the
Hierarchy.

Dec. 11th.

^k Parl. Hist. ii. 673—678. Great opposition was made to the reception of this petition. “Lord Digby and Viscount Falkland,” says Baillie, “with a prepared company about them, laboured by premeditated speeches, and hot disputes, to have it cast out of the house without a hearing, as crav-

ing the rooting out of episcopacy against so many established laws. The other party was not prepared; yet they contested on together from eight in the morning to six at night. All that night our party solicited as hard as they could. To-morrow some thousands of the citizens went down to Westminster

CHARLES I. Another, called the Ministers' petition, and signed by seven hundred clergymen, set forth the corruptions of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline ; and earnestly prayed that they might be abolished.¹ A vast number of the counties and towns petitioned, either for the reform, or for the destruction of episcopacy. This order was opposed, and its abolition sought, on various grounds. Some regarded it with dread, as the engine of civil despotism ; others abhorred it, as an approximation to Popery ; while a third party denounced it, as incompatible with religious freedom, and hostile to the welfare of the Church. "By sad experience," say the Kentish petitioners, "we do daily find the government of the Church of England, by archbishops, bishops, &c., to be very dangerous both to Church and Commonwealth ; to be the occasions of manifold grievances unto his Majesty's subjects, in their consciences, liberties, and estates, and likely to be fatal to us in the continuance thereof."^m

Hall, to countenance their petition. It was voiced whether the petition should be committed or not ? but, by thirty-six to thirty-seven voices, our party carried it that it should be referred to the Committee of religion." Letters, i. 244. Clarendon says, the petition "was suffered to remain in the hands of the Clerk of the House, with direction 'that no copy of it should be given.'" Hist. of Rebellion, i. 356. Rushworth, however, informs us, that it was the *roll of names* appended to the petition that was committed to the Speaker's care ; and that copies were permitted, by the vote of the House, to be taken for

the members. Collections, iii. 96.

¹ Baillie, i. 236. Neal, ii. 360.

^m Rushworth, iii. 135. Heylin's Laud, 469. Walker's sufferings of the Clergy. Part i. p. 8. Fuller, xi. 185. "No day passed," says the last writer, "wherein some petition was not presented to the Lords and Commons, from several persons, against the Bishops as grand grievances, causing the general decay of trade, obstructing the proceedings in parliament, and what not. Inso-much that the very porters (as they said) were able no longer to undergo the burden of episcopal tyranny, and petitioned against it."

Nor were the friends of Episcopacy indifferent CHAP. VI.
 spectators of the scenes which were acting. They —
 exerted themselves to the utmost in procuring CHARLES
 counter petitions; and their success was great. I.
 One was presented from Somersetshire, signed by Petitions on
 14,350 freeholders and inhabitants; and another from behalf of the
 Cheshire, signed by 10,000.ⁿ Each of the Uni- Hierarchy.
 versities petitioned; and from the several districts
 of the country upwards of 100,000 recorded their
 sentiments in favour of the Hierarchy.^o These pe-
 titioners generally acknowledged the existence of
 many corruptions in the Church, and rendered
 thanks to Parliament for the check it had
 given to innovations and abuses. They were at-
 tached to Episcopacy, and therefore deprecated its
 overthrow; but invited the reforming hand of Par-
 liament to punish the evil practices, and to restrain
 the intemperate spirit, of ambitious ecclesiastics.
 "For the present government of the Church," say
 the Somersetshire petitioners, "we are most thank-
 ful to God, believing it in our hearts to be most
 pious, and the wisest that any people or kingdom
 upon earth hath been blest withal, since the apostles'
 days; though we may not deny but, through the
 frailty of men, and corruption of times, some things
 of ill consequence, and other needless, are stolen or
 thrust into it; which we heartily wish may be re-
 formed, and the Church restored to its former
 purity. And, to the end it may be the better pre-
 served from present and future innovation, we wish
 the wittingly and maliciously guilty, of what con-
 dition soever they be, whether bishops or inferior

ⁿ Nalson, ii. 727, 758.^o Walker's Sufferings, &c. Part i. 9.

CHAP. VI. clergy, may receive condign punishment. But,
CHARLES I. for the miscarriage of governors, to destroy the government, we trust it shall never enter into the hearts of this wise and honourable assembly." The moderation observable in these petitions, contrasts strikingly with the ultra views, and furious zeal, which the adherents of the Church had been accustomed to display. Had it been evinced prior to the meeting of the Long Parliament, it would have awakened the suspicion of Laud ; and probably have subjected the petitioners to the merciless judgments of the Star Chamber, or the High Commission Court. But the times were now altered. The prospect of triumph encouraged the nonconformists to increase their demands, while the dread of defeat constrained their opponents to relinquish many of their outworks, and to aim only at the preservation of the citadel.

Strength of
the episcopal
party.

The number of petitions presented on behalf of episcopacy, clearly proves, that in some districts of the country, the adherents of the Hierarchy were still very numerous. Nor need this fact awaken surprise, when it is remembered that the aristocracy were generally devoted to its interests, and that its ramifications were spread in a thousand forms through the land. The direct interest which the aristocracy possess in the maintenance of a State religion, must ever dispose them to exert their influence amongst their tenantry for its support. This they did in the present contest, with an energy and promptitude which for a time promised success. Their selfishness aided their loyalty, and infused into their struggle with the supporters of popular rights, the elements of embittered and un-

quenchable hatred. It is not necessary to suppose—CHAP. VI.
CHARLES I. though probably there would be little want of candour in doing so—that the influence of the aristocracy was frequently employed in compelling their tenantry to unite in petitions, from the prayer of which they dissented. At a period of such excitement, when the malignant as well as the generous passions of the human heart were pushed into violent and fearful action; it is more than probable that both parties employed unjustifiable methods to swell the apparent number of their supporters. The royalist writers charge their opponents with having done so, while the latter retort the accusation with equal appearance of truth.^p The impartial historian will perhaps conclude that both parties were guilty, though not to the extent that they mutually alleged.

On the 9th of February, a committee of thirty, afterwards increased to forty-four, was appointed, “to prepare heads out of these petitions, for the consideration of the House;” the Commons, as the vote states, “reserving the main point of episcopacy, to take it into their consideration in due time.” This guarded language clearly indicates considerable indecision on the part of the House. Had the advocates of prelacy constituted at this time an overwhelming majority, they would scarcely have failed to record an opinion favourable to it; especially when appointing a committee, the bare existence of which was sufficient to involve their sentiments in doubt, and to awaken the apprehensions of the bishops.^q

^p Clarendon alleges, that great disingenuity was practised in the procuring of petitions against the

Church. Hist. of Rebellion. i. 357.

^q Godwin's Commonwealth, i. 57.

CHAP. VI. The speeches delivered on this occasion strongly
CHARLES I. confirm the view which has been given of Laud's
administration. All parties united in condemning
its despotic and merciless character, and in invoking
the vengeance of the House. So universal
was the disgust which it had awakened, that
no voice was raised in its defence; and the most
zealous advocates of episcopacy emulated the vehemence
with which the puritans and the popular leaders denounced its atrocities. Lord Digby, an eminent royalist, in speaking against the *root and branch* petition, and in favour of the hierarchy, equalled the most violent member of the House, in his exposure of prelatical tyranny. "There is no man," said his lordship, "within these walls, more sensible of the heavy grievances of Church government than myself, nor whose affections are keener to the clipping of the wings of the prelates, whereby they have mounted to such insolences; nor whose zeal is more a dent to the searing them, so as they may never spring again. . . . You see in what plain language I have set forth unto you the faults of this petition; notwithstanding, as great as they are, so they may not obtain any seeming countenance from us, I find myself willing to have them passed by, especially when I consider how naturally prone all mankind is, when it finds itself oppressed beyond patience, to fly into extremes for ease; and, indeed, I do not think that any people hath ever been more provoked, than the generality of England of late years, by the insolences and exorbitances of the prelates. . . . Methinks the vengeance of the prelates hath been so lay'd, as if it were

Lord Digby's
Speech
against the
tyranny of
the bishops.

Feb. 9th.

meant no generation, no degree, no complexion of CHAP. VI.
mankind, should escape it.

CHARLES
I.

“ Was there a man of nice and tender conscience ; him have they afflicted with scandal, in *Adiaphoris*, imposing on him those things as necessary which he thinks unlawful, and they themselves know to be but indifferent. Was there a man of a legal conscience, that made the establishment by law the measure of his religion ; him have they nettled with innovations, with fresh introductions to popery. Was there a man of meek and humble spirit ; him have they trampled to dirt in their pride. Was there a man of a proud and arrogant nature ; him have they bereft of reason, with indignation at their superlative insolence about him. Was there a man peaceably affected, studious of the quiet and tranquillity of his country ; their incendiaryship hath plagued him. Was there a man faithfully addicted to the right of the Crown, loyally affected to the King’s supremacy ; how hath he been galled by their new oath—a direct covenant against it ! Was there a man tenacious of the liberty and property of the subject ; have they not set forth books, or sermons, or canons, destructive to them all ? Was there a man of a pretty sturdy conscience, that would not blanch for a little ; their pernicious oath hath made him sensible, and wounded ; or, I fear, prepared him for the devil. Was there a man that durst mutter against their insolences ; he may inquire for his lugs ; they have been within the bishops’ visitation ; as if they would not only derive their brandishment of the spiritual sword from St. Peter, but of the material one too, and the right to cut off ears.

CHAP. VI. "Mr. Speaker, as dully, as faintly, as unlively, as
CHARLES in language these actions of the prelates hath been
1. expressed unto you, I am confident there is no
man hears me but is brimful of indignation. For
my part, I profess I am so inflamed with a sense of
them, that I find myself ready to cry out with the
loudest of the 15,000, *Down with them, down with*
them, even to the ground. . . . I beseech you,
gentlemen, let us not be led on by passion, to popu-
lar and vulgar errors. It is natural (as I told you
before) to the multitude to fly into extremes; that
seems ever the best to them, that is most opposite
to the present object of their hate. Wise councils,
Mr. Speaker, must square their resolutions by
another measure—by what is most just, most
honourable, most convenient. Believe me, Sir,
great alterations of government are rarely accom-
panied with any of these. Mr. Speaker, we all
agree upon this, That a reformation of Church
government is most necessary; and our happy unity
of opinions herein should be one argument unto us
to stay there. But, Sir, to strike at the *root*, to
attempt a total alteration, before ever I can give my
vote unto that, three things must be made manifest
unto me. First, that the mischiefs which we have
felt under episcopal government flow from the
nature of the function, not from the abuses of it
only; that is, that no rules, no boundaries, can be
set to bishops, able to restrain them from such ex-
orbitances. Secondly, such a frame of government
must be laid before us, as no time, no corruption,
can make liable to proportionable inconveniences
with that which we abolish. And, thirdly, it must

be made to appear, that this Utopia is practicable." ^{CHAP.VI.}

Lord Falkland also, who sacrificed his life in the service of Charles, spoke in a similar strain. "He is a great stranger in Israel," said this upright, but misjudging nobleman, "who knows not this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, who doth not both know and acknowledge, that a great, if not a principal, cause of both these have been some bishops and their adherents. Mr. Speaker, a little search will serve to find them to have been the destruction of unity, under pretence of uniformity; to have brought in superstition and scandal, under the titles of reverence and decency; to have defiled our Church, by adorning our churches; to have slackened the strictness of that union which was formerly between us and those of our religion beyond the sea, an action as impolitic as ungodly. Mr. Speaker, we shall find them to have talked much and amiss, and have left undone the weightier works of the law; to have been less eager upon those who damn our Church, than upon those who, upon weak conscience, and perhaps as weak reason (the dislike of some commanded garment, or some uncommanded posture) only abstained from it. Nay, it hath been more dangerous for men to go to some neighbour's parish, when they had no sermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual recusants. While masses have been said in security, a conventicle hath been a

<sup>CHARLES
I.</sup>

<sup>Falkland's
Speech.</sup>

CHAP. VI. crime ; and, which is yet more, the conforming to
CHARLES I. ceremonies hath been more exacted than the con-
forming to Christianity ; and while men for scruple
have been undone, for attempts upon sodomy they
have only been admonished.

“ Mr. Speaker, we shall find them to have resembled *the dog in the manger*; to have neither preached themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would: to have brought in catechizing only to thrust out preaching; cried down lectures by the name of factions, either because other men’s industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of it, or with intention to have brought in darkness, that they may the easier sow their tares while it was night, and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that religion which accounts it the mother of devotion.

. . . . The truth is, that as some ill ministers in our State first took away our money from us, and after endeavoured to make our money not worth the taking, by turning it into brass by a kind of anti-philosopher’s stone: so these men used us in the point of preaching; first depressing it to their power, and next labouring to make it such as the harm had not been much if it had been depressed.

. . . It seemed their work was to try how much of a papist might be brought in without popery; and to destroy as much as they could of the gospel, without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by the law.” His lordship then proceeded to charge them with betraying the liberties of the nation, with fomenting the troubles in Scotland, and with having abetted the oppressive and despotic government of the Earl of Strafford in Ireland. He

contended, however, against these crimes being imputed to episcopacy, which he defended as an ancient, honourable, and useful order. He was willing to diminish the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, but would not consent to the extinction of their office. “I do not believe them,” said his lordship, in closing his speech, “to be *jure divino*, nay, I believe them not to be *jure divino*, but neither do I believe them to be *injuriā humanā*; I neither consider them as necessary, nor as unlawful, but as convenient or inconvenient. But since all great mutations in government are dangerous, and since the greatest danger of mutations is, that all the dangers and inconveniences they may bring are not to be foreseen; and since no wise man will undergo great danger but for great necessity, my opinion is, that we should not root up this ancient tree, as dead as it appears, till we have tried whether by this or the like lopping of the branches, the sap which was unable to feed the whole may not serve to make what is left both grow and flourish.”^s

But the attention of the House was far from being engrossed by the subject of petitions. On the 14th of December the legality of the late Convocation was debated, and two days afterwards the Canons which it had adopted were condemned as “contrary to the King’s prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the right of parliaments, to the property and liberty of the subjects,”

Canons condemned, Dec. 16, 1640.

^s Rushworth, iii. 184—186. The speeches of Digby and Falkland are a sufficient confutation of the view given of Laud’s administration, by such writers as Messrs. Lawson and Le Bas. We defer to the authority of the con-

temporaries of Laud, who in defending his *order* reprobated his *policy*, rather than to the dictum of modern partizans, whose minds are too heated to allow of their pronouncing a calm and impartial judgment on the facts of the case.

CHARLES I. CHAP. VI. and as containing “ matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence.” A committee was immediately appointed to inquire after the “ promoters and principal actors” of these Canons, “ and to consider how far, in particular, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury has been an actor in all the proceedings of them, and further to examine how far he has been an actor in the great design of the subversion of the laws of the realm and of the religion ; and to prepare and draw up a charge against him and such others as shall appear offenders in these particulars.”^t

Impeach-
ment of
Strafford.

In the meantime other events had transpired which materially affected the state of parties. The constitutional principle of ministerial responsibility, which had been partially vindicated in the impeachment of Middlesex and Bacon during the reign of James, was now applied with tremendous energy to the delinquent servants of the crown. The illegal and violent methods which they had adopted to supersede the necessity for parliamentary supplies, obviously called for and justified the infliction of exemplary punishment. The impeachment of Strafford naturally grew out of the circumstances of the times, and was regarded by all the popular leaders as necessary to the vindication of their liberties. They were well acquainted with his talents and energy, and dreaded the influence he might yet exercise over the councils of the King. All the vigour of his manhood, and the fierceness of his haughty and indomitable spirit, had been thrown into the cause of despotism, and those whom he had

^t Parl. Hist. ii. 678, 679. Rushworth, iii. 99—113. Laud’s Diary, 59.

endeavoured to crush now determined to make him an example of public justice. He had deserted them in their hour of need, and his subsequent conduct showed how little they could calculate on his moderation and clemency. The unflinching advocate of severe and exterminating measures, he had poured his complaints into the listening ear of Laud, who replied to his lamentations by invoking a merciful God to strengthen and guide them in the work of oppression and slaughter.^u Such a man was not entitled to look for mercy at the hands of those whose ruin he had eagerly sought. They felt that the hour was come when they must strike down the guilty minister, or become the victims of his policy. His influence over the King was known to be paramount, and fears were entertained lest Charles should dissolve the Parliament, in order to shield his talented and unscrupulous servant. The leaders of the popular party felt, from the commencement of the session, that nothing was secure so long as Strafford was at large, and they therefore resolved by a bold and decisive blow to bring the question to an issue. Mr. Pym threw out the suggestion of an impeachment, which was immediately adopted by the House, and he himself was appointed to carry it into execution. Undeterred by the dangers which threatened him, the intrepid champion of a nation's rights presented himself at the bar of the Upper House, and in the name of the Commons of England impeached the hitherto omnipotent minister of high

Nov. 11.

^u "In truth," writes Wentworth to Laud, April 10, 1638, "I still wish (and take it also to be a very charitable one) Mr. Hampden and others to his likeness were well

whipt into their right senses; if that the rod be so used as that it smarts not, I am the more sorry." Strafford's Letters, ii. 158.

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. VI. treason, and prayed that he might be separated from
CHARLES I. the royal councils, and be committed to safe custody.

The Lords received the charge, and Strafford was committed to the keeper of the black rod. The Court quailed before the voice of Pym, and felt that the hour of their doom had arrived. They had long trifled with the feelings of the nation, and were therefore wholly unprepared for the tone of calm and settled determination which was assumed.

His trial.

It would be foreign from the purposes of this history to detail the progress of the Earl's trial. It was the most august and imposing scene which had hitherto been witnessed in our courts of justice; and even now yields only, in moral grandeur and absorbing interest, to that which was enacted when Strafford's master was arraigned to answer for his crimes. The Earl conducted his defence with distinguished ability. His gigantic intellect enabled him to surmount the incredible difficulties of his position, and to command the admiration and sympathy of his noblest foes. Broken by disease, deprived of the witness on whose evidence he had mainly relied, and refused, except on points of law, the assistance of counsel, his heroic fortitude and lofty bearing never forsook him. He stood unmoved against the torrent of popular rage, and all the talent and patriotism which a kingdom could array against him. With singular inconsistency his appeal was made to the laws on which he had so recklessly trampled;—he sought to entrench himself behind the constitutional bulwarks which had proved so ineffectual a barrier against his own ambition. "Certainly," says Whitelock, "never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and

eloquence; with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did ; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors (some few excepted) to remorse and pity.”^x

CHARLES
I.

But Strafford was opposed to men, from whose minds his commanding eloquence was unable to efface the recollection of his crimes. Their settled judgments were not to be reversed even by those superhuman efforts which genius made to avert his fate. The memory of the past enabled them easily to resist the magic influence which his master-spirit threw around them.

Pym was the conductor of the prosecution, and his conduct was worthy of the occasion. He and Strafford had been early associates in the cause of freedom, but they now stood in hostile array, the representatives of two principles, on whose fearful struggle a nation’s fate was suspended. His triumph was as extraordinary as the eloquence of his antagonist was unparalleled. “ In either case the individual rose or fell with the establishment, or the withdrawal of a great principle. Pym knew and felt this ; and that with him it now rested whether or not the privileges so long contested, the rights so long misunderstood, of the great body of the people, should win at last their assured consummation and acknowledgment. In the speeches of Pym the true point is to be recognised on which the vindication of Strafford’s death turns. The defence of the accused was technical, and founded on rules of evidence, and legal constructions of statutes, which, though clearly defined since, were in that day re-

The prosecu-
tion conduct-
ed by Pym.

CHARLES I. cognised doubtfully, and frequently exceeded. The defence of the accusers, if they are indeed to be put upon their defence before a posterity for whose rights they hazarded all things, rests upon a principle which was implanted in man when he was born, and which no age can deaden or obscure. “My Lords,” said Pym, “we charge him with nothing but what the *law* in every man’s breast condemns, the light of nature, the light of common reason, the rules of common society.”^y

His execution and character.

The Commons now changed their course by substituting for the impeachment a bill of attainder, which was ultimately carried through both houses.^z Charles endeavoured to save the life of his Minister, but at length yielded to the exigency of the case, and basely sacrificed his honour to the advancement

^y Forster’s Life of Strafford, 396.

^z Much has been written against the course adopted by the Commons on this occasion. Mr. Hallam has examined the subject with his usual impartiality, and his judgment may be gathered from the following passage: “If we pay such regard to the principles of clemency and moderation, and of adherence to fixed rules of law, as to pass some censure on this deviation from them in the attainder of Lord Strafford, we must not yield to the clamorous invectives of his admirers, or treat the prosecution as a scandalous and flagitious excess of party vengeance. Look round the nations of the globe, and say in what age or country would such a man have fallen into the hands of his enemies, without paying the forfeit of his offences against the commonwealth with his life? They who grasp at arbitrary power, they who make their fellow citizens tremble before them, they who gratify a selfish pride, by the hu-

miliation and servitude of mankind, have always played a deep stake; and the more invidious and intolerable has been their pre-eminence, their fall has been more destructive, and their punishment more exemplary. Something beyond the retirement or the dismissal of such ministers has seemed necessary ‘to absolve the gods,’ and furnish history with an awful lesson of retribution. The spontaneous instinct of nature has called for the axe and the gibbet against such capital delinquents. If then we blame in some measure the sentence against Strafford, it is not for his sake, but for that of the laws on which he trampled, and of the liberty which he betrayed. He died justly before God and man, though we may deem the precedent dangerous, and the better course of a magnanimous lenity unwisely rejected; and in condemning the bill of attainder we cannot look upon it as a crime.” Const. Hist. ii. 152.

of his interests. “Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men,” said the disappointed Strafford, when assured that the master whom he had so zealously served had assented to his death, “for in them there is no salvation.” He was executed on the 12th May, 1641, and maintained to the very last the same high and fearless bearing which had distinguished him through life. His character is written in the history of his administration. He was the creature of prerogative, and the sworn enemy of freedom, who sighed with intense desire to realize in his native country the most absolute form of despotism.^a Even those who opposed the bill of attainder acknowledged his unparalleled guilt. “I am still the same in my opinions and affections as unto the Earl of Strafford,” said Lord Digby, who had supported the impeachment, but was hostile to the attainder; “I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous Minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on; and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of

^a “I know no reason then,” he writes to Laud, from Ireland, in December 1633, “but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I, poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master’s service, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the King, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able, by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honourable action through all imaginary opposition, for real there can be none; that

to start aside for such panic fears such fantastic apparitions, as a Prynne or an Elliot shall set up, were the meanest folly in the world; that the debts of the crown taken off, you may govern as you please; and most resolute I am that work may be done, without borrowing any help forth of the King’s lodgings, and that is as downright a peccatum ex te Israel as ever was, if all this be not effected with speed and ease.” Strafford’s Letters, i. 173.

CHARLES
1.

CHAP. VI. his, whereof God had given him the use, but the
 ——— CHARLES I. devil the application. In a word, I believe him to
 be still that grand apostate to the Commonwealth,
 who must not expect to be pardoned in this world,
 till he be dispatched to the other.”^b

Impeach-
ment of Laud.

Strafford was not the only Minister of the King against whom the Commons instituted proceedings. Secretary Windebank, and the Lord Keeper Finch, consulted their safety by departing the kingdom; Dr. Wren, bishop of Ely, was first bailed, and afterwards committed to prison, where he was unrighteously detained without being brought to trial till 1659; and several others incurred the displeasure, and were variously punished by the now dominant Parliament.^c It was not to be expected that Laud should escape, while such minor instruments of tyranny and superstition were marked out for justice. Without awakening the fear which Strafford inspired, he was regarded with equal abhorrence, and was doomed to encounter, though by slower steps, the same unhappy fate. On the 18th of December it was resolved by the Lower House to accuse the archbishop of high treason, and Denzil Hollis, brother-in-law to the Earl of Strafford, was appointed to carry the impeachment to the Lords. The Scotch Commissioners also accused him as an incendiary, and he was committed to the custody of the gentleman usher of the black rod.^d Fourteen articles were subsequently preferred against him by the Commons, to which he briefly replied, and was

Feb. 26, 1641.

^b Parl. Hist. ii. 750.

^c Ibid. 682, 686, 698, 725. Rush-
worth, iii. 318—346.

^d Laud’s Diary, 60. Troubles
and Trial, 86, 144. Rushworth,
iii. 123. Nalson, i. 691.

then ordered by the Lords to be removed on the CHAP. VI.
1st of March to the Tower.^e Here he remained —————
unnoticed, and almost forgotten, till 1643, when his CHARLES
prosecution was revived under circumstances which I.
sealed his fate.

^e Rushworth, iii. 195—202. Laud's Diary, 60, 61. Heylin's
Laud, 465—468.

CHAPTER VII.

Prisoners released—Popular feeling against the Hierarchy—Opposed by the Lords, but connived at by the Commons—Triennial Bill—Bill for the Continuance of Parliament—Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission abolished—Religious Policy of the Patriots—State of Religion—Committee for scandalous Ministers—Charges against it—Unpopularity of the Bishops—Commons' Votes to exclude the Clergy from Commissions of the Peace—Bill to exclude the Bishops from Parliament—Reasons of the Commons in support of the Bill—Reasons against the Bill—Bill for the Abolition of Bishoprics—Committee of Innovations—Archbishop Usher's Scheme.

CHAP. WHILE Parliament thus proceeded in punishing the delinquent servants of the Crown, it was
VII. not unmindful of those who had suffered from their
CHARLES crimes. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was re-
I. leased from his confinement on the sixteenth of
Prisoners November; and, by a resolution passed on the
released. seventh, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were re-
called from their distant and solitary prisons. Their
journey through the country was one continued
triumph. The inhabitants of every town met them
on their approach, with an enthusiasm which was
ominous of the future, and clearly proved the
general alienation of the public mind from the

government and Ministers of Charles.^a Several others were released about the same time, amongst whom were Leighton, Lilburne, and Brewer, the last of whom had been imprisoned fourteen years.^b

The tide of popular feeling now set in strongly against the bishops and their adherents. The churches assigned to the Scotch divines were crowded to excess, and the more regular and orthodox clergy could scarcely officiate according to law without interruption. Serious dangers were to be

CHAP.
VII.

I.

Popular feel-
ing against the
Hierarchy.

^a Hacket's Williams, part 2, p. 138. Rushworth, iii. 20, 228. Nalson, i. 570. Prynne gives the following account of his own and Burton's entrance into London. "The next morning early multitudes of their friends from London and elsewhere, met them at *Stanes*, and came flocking into them afresh every foot, till they came to *Brainford*, where they dined. All the way from *Stanes* to *Brainford* was very full of people, which came to meet and welcome them into England, some in coaches, others on horseback, others on foot. After dinner they took horse for London, riding both together; but the way between *Brainford* and London, though broad, was so full of coaches, horses, and people to congratulate their return, that they were forced to make stops, and could not ride scarce one mile an hour, so that it was almost night ere they came to *Charing Cross*, when they encountered such a world of people in the streets that they could hardly pass them; the City Marshal, when they came into the Old Bailey, being forced to make way for them with his horse troop; the crowd of people was so great that they were near three hours in passing from *Charing Cross* to their lodgings in the City, having

torches carried to light them when it grew dark. The people were so extraordinarily joyful of their return, that they rang the bells in most places they passed for joy; ran to salute and shake them by the hands, crying out with one unanimous shout, *Welcome home, welcome home, God bless you, God bless you, God be thanked for your return*, and the like; yea, they strewed the ways where they rode with herbs, and flowers; and, running to their gardens, brought *rosemarys* and *bays* thence, which they gave to them and the company that rode with them into London, who were estimated to be about one hundred coaches, many of them having six horses apiece, and at least two thousand horse; those on foot being innumerable. The day they came from Egham into London, the sun arose most gloriously upon them soon after they came out of their inn, without any cloud, (which they both observed), and so continued shining all the day, without interposition of any obstacle to eclipse its rays, so as heaven and earth conspired together to smile upon them, and to congratulate their safe returns from their bonds and exiles." Prelates' Tyranny, 113—115.

^b Nalson, 511, 512, 570, 799.

CHAP. apprehended, from the violence with which the
VII. populace sought to demolish the memorials of super-
CHARLES tition recently introduced. Such outrages have

I. usually dishonoured the earlier stages of revolution, whether political or religious, and were therefore especially to be anticipated in the present case, when the public mind was exulting in its escape from episcopal tyranny and civil despotism. That an unlettered multitude, however upright in their views, should, under such circumstances, be guilty of excesses injurious to their cause, and to be condemned by posterity, is what the condition of human nature, and the history of previous revolutions, would lead us to expect.

Opposed by
the Lords,
but connived
at by the
Commons.

Information having been brought to the Lords, of the disorders which had recently happened in several churches, they issued an order to the following effect, “That the divine service be performed as it is appointed by the acts of parliament of this realm ; and all such as shall disturb this wholesome order, shall be severely punished, according to the laws ; and the parsons, vicars, and curates, in several parishes, shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the laws of the land.”^c But such edicts were powerless in the present excited state of the public mind. It was not perhaps in human legislation wholly to repress the headstrong and impetuous passions which broke loose upon society. The restraints of authority were despised ; the monuments of ancient superstition or piety were treated with contempt ; and, in

^c Nalson, i. 800. Neal, ii. 339.

the irrepressible exultation arising from the consciousness of present freedom, the security of the future was neglected. It must also be acknowledged, that the lower house rather encouraged than otherwise the demonstration of popular feeling. It had hitherto succeeded in its patriotic labours, through the unbounded confidence which the nation was known to exercise in its integrity and wisdom. The slightest reaction on the part of the people would have incapacitated it for further usefulness, and have left its leaders at the mercy of the Crown. They were therefore obliged to connive at excesses which they could not approve, and to expose themselves to the charge of favouring popular tumults, in order that they might establish the supremacy of law.^d

The power of the Parliament was now for a season omnipotent; and on the first measures which were carried its fame principally rests. Early in January 19. the session a bill was introduced for the more frequent calling of parliaments, which enacted that the national council should meet every third year, and made provision for its being summoned in case the proper authorities neglected their duty. It eventually passed both houses, and was reluctantly assented to by the King.^e

A bolder and more questionable measure was subsequently carried, which effected a momentous revolution in the government, and became the source of innumerable evils. The parliamentary leaders, ever active and vigilant, discovered a plot on the part of the King's adherents, to bring

CHAP.
VII.CHARLES
I.Triennial
Bill passed.

January 19.

February 15.

Bill for the
continuance
of the present
Parliament.

^d May, 75. May, 67. Parl. Hist. ii. 702—716. ^e Rushworth,
iii. 145—149.

CHAP. up the army to London, for the purpose of over-
 VII. awing the national representatives. The danger
 CHARLES was imminent, and could only be warded off by
 I.

some decisive measure. Unhappily for the constitution and liberties of the country, it was met by a bill against the dissolution of the present parliament without its own consent; which was resolved on, and carried through the two houses, in an almost incredibly short time. Two days afterwards it received the royal assent, together with the bill for the execution of the Earl of Strafford.^f The King's "ready acquiescence in this bill, far more dangerous than any of those at which he demurred, can only be ascribed to his own shame, and the Queen's consternation at the discovery of the late plot; and thus we trace again the calamities of Charles to their two great sources, his want of judgment in affairs, and of good faith towards his people."^g

Courts of
Star Chamber
and High
Commission
abolished.

The King evinced greater reluctance in assenting to two bills for the abolition of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. These tribunals had been amongst the most efficient bulwarks of his tyranny, and were therefore endeared to Charles, who never relinquished the means of oppression without regret. But the constitutional party wisely insisted on their being surrendered. A money bill was associated with the Acts for their extinction, to render them more acceptable to the King, who was requested by the two houses to give

^f Parl. Hist. ii. 784—787. May,
66. Mr. Hyde and Lord Falk-
land, together with other mod-
erate members of the lower house,

supported this bill. Hallam, ii.
155.

^g Hallam, ii. 156.

his assent without delay. Charles, however, had not yet determined on his course, and he therefore passed the money bill on the day that he received the message of his parliament, but required time for the consideration of their other measures. Great dissatisfaction was thus produced in the lower House which being reported to the Monarch, aroused his fears, and induced him to comply with their demand. July 5. Thus was effected, by peaceful and constitutional means, one of the most important triumphs which the history of civil and religious freedom records. So complete was the victory that no attempt has subsequently been made to remodel these anomalous institutions. Posterity has confirmed the judgment passed on them by the Long Parliament; and all classes now unite in pronouncing them to be foreign from the spirit, and hostile to the practical working of the British Constitution.^h

While these important measures were devised for preserving the liberties of the nation, the attention of Parliament was energetically directed to the state of religion. Politics and religion were intimately blended in the discussions of this celebrated assembly; and unitedly contributed to the formation of the two parties which were soon to divide the kingdom, and to scatter the seeds of that contention, the consequences of which have not yet been fully realized. The propriety of parliamentary enactments in aid of religion was yet universally admitted; and the best friends of the latter, consequently, directed their efforts to a more equitable

Religious policy of the patriots.

^h Rushworth, iii. 279, 283, 303, 324, 327. Parl. Hist. ii. 853—856. 304, 307. Nalson, ii. 258, 271,

CHAP. and Christian-like administration of church affairs.
VII. Instead of relinquishing the power of interference,
CHARLES as an unwarrantable and injurious assumption, they

I. sought to remedy the evils which accrued from the vicious administration of Laud, and to infuse a more healthy and vigorous tone into the languid frame of the hierarchy. They thus became the instruments of important benefits to the nation ; but those benefits were temporary, and were more than counterbalanced by the mischievous consequences which speedily ensued. Had the patriots of that day taken another step in advance of the public mind, by enfranchising Christianity from the degrading trammels of a state alliance, they would have increased a hundred-fold their claims on the admiration and gratitude of mankind. Subsequent evils would thus have been avoided, religion would have been preserved from a thousand reproaches, and the achievement now reserved for some future day would have crowned with yet brighter glory this illustrious period of our history. But, instead of indulging unavailing lamentations, it is the part of an honest and candid mind to judge the men of that day by the standard of their own times, rather than by the more enlightened and scriptural views which have subsequently been broached.

State of religion at the commencement of the Long Parliament.

The irreligious state of the country loudly called for some decisive measures. Laud's policy had inundated the Church with a class of ignorant and secularized Clergy, whose only title to preferment was an unscrupulous compliance with his superstitious innovations. Their influence was fatal to the piety of their hearers, and engendered a spirit of hostility to true religion, under whatever form it

was discovered. Had the present course of things been permitted to continue a few years longer, religion would have existed merely in name. It yet lingered in the dwellings of the puritans, but could only have been protected in these—its last retreats—by the special interposition of its divine author. “Where I was bred, before 1640,” says Richard Baxter, “which was in diverse places, I knew not one presbyterian clergyman, and but three or four nonconforming ministers. Till Mr. Ball wrote in favour of the liturgy, and against Canne, Allen, &c., and till Mr. Burton published his ‘Protestation Protested,’ I never thought what presbytery or independency was, nor ever spake with a man who seemed to know it. In the place where I first lived, and the country about, the people were of two sorts. The generality seemed to mind nothing seriously but the body and the world; they went to church, and could answer the parson in responses, and then to dinner, and then to play. They never prayed in their families; but some of them, on going to bed, would say over the creed and the Lord’s prayer, and some of them the Hail Mary. They read not the Scriptures, nor any good book or catechism; few of them indeed could read, or had, a bible. They were of two ranks; the greater part were good husbands, as they called them, and minded nothing but their business or interest in the world; the rest were drunkards. Most were swearers, though they were not all equally gross: both sorts seemed utter strangers to any more of religion than I have named, though some hated it more than others.”

“The other sort were such as had their consciences

CHAP. awakened to some regard for God, and their ever-
VII. lasting state; and, according to the various mea-
CHARLES sures of their understanding, did speak and live as

I. serious in the Christian faith, and would inquire what was duty, and what was sin, and how to please God and make sure of salvation; and make this their business and interest, as the rest did the world. They read the Scriptures, and such books as the "Practice of Piety," "Dent's Plain Man's Pathway," and "Dod on the Commandments," &c. They used to pray in their families, and alone; some with the book, and some without. They would not swear, nor curse, nor take God's name in vain. They would go to the next parish church to hear a sermon, when they had none at their own; and would read the Scriptures on the Lord's day, when others were playing. There were, where I lived, about the number of two or three families in twenty, which, by the rest, were called puritans, and derided as hypocrites, and precisians, that would take on them to be holy, yet hardly one, if any of them, ever scrupled conformity, and they were godly, conformable ministers, whom they went from home to hear. These ministers, being the ablest preachers, and men of serious piety, were also the objects of vulgar obloquy, as puritans and precisians.

" This being the condition of the vulgar where I was, when I came into the acquaintance of many persons of honour and power, and reputed learning, I found the same seriousness in religion, as in some few before described, and the same daily scorn of that sort of men in others, but differently clothed; for these would talk more bitterly, but yet with a

greater show of reason, against the others, than the ignorant country people did. They would, also, sometimes talk of certain opinions in religion, and some of them would use part of the common prayer in their houses; others of them would swear though seldom, and these small oaths, and lived soberly and civilly. But serious talk of God or godliness, as that which tended to search and reform the heart and life, and prepare for the life to come, they would at least be very averse to hear, if not deride as puritanical.”^g

^g True History of Councils Enlarged, 91. Speaking of a period somewhat earlier, Baxter gives a similar account of the religious condition of the community. “We lived in a country,” he says, referring to his younger days, “that had but little preaching at all. In the village where I was born there were four readers successively, in six years time, ignorant men, and two of them immoral in their lives; who were all my school masters. In the village where my father lived there was a reader of about eighty years of age, that never preached, and had two churches, about twenty miles distant; his eye sight failing him, he said common prayer without book; but for the reading of the Psalms and Chapters he got a common thresher and day-labourer one year, and a tailor another year (for the clerk could not read well); and at last he had a kinsman of his own (the excellentest stage player in all the country, and a good gamester and good fellow), that got orders, and supplied one of his places. After him another younger kinsman, that could write and read, got orders; and at the same time another neighbour’s son, that had been a while at school, turned minister, and who would needs go further than the rest, ventured to preach (and after got a living in Staffordshire), and when he

had been a preacher about twelve or sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his orders were forged by the same ingenious stage player. After him another neighbour’s son took orders, when he had been awhile an attorney’s clerk, and a common drunkard, and tipped himself into so great poverty that he had no other way to live; it was feared that he and more of them came by their orders the same way with the forementioned person; these were the schoolmasters of my youth (except two of them), who read common prayer on Sundays and holydays, and taught school and tipped on the week days, and whipped the boys when they were drunk, so that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us were near a dozen more ministers, that were near eighty years old apiece, and never preached: poor ignorant readers, and most of them of scandalous lives: only three or four constant, competent preachers lived near us, and those (though conformable all save one) were the common marks of the people’s obloquy and reproach, and any that had but gone to hear them when he had no preaching at home, was made the derision of the vulgar rabble under the odious name of a puritan.” Sylvester’s Baxter, p. i.

CHAP.

VII.

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. VII. Three days after the meeting of Parliament
several committees were appointed by the Lower
CHARLES House, one of which was for religion. Petitions

I. from all parts of the country were immediately pre-
Committee
for scandalous
ministers. sented, complaining of an entire dearth of religious
instruction, or of the notorious incompetency or
vicious conduct of those who administered it. A
sub-committee was consequently appointed “to con-
sider how there may be preaching ministers set up
where there are none; how they may be maintained
where there is no maintenance, and all other things
of that nature: also to inquire of the true grounds
and causes of the great scarcity of preaching minis-
ters throughout the kingdom; and to consider of
some way of removing of scandalous ministers, and
putting others in their place.” To facilitate the
objects of this committee, the knights and burgesses
in parliament were ordered to inform the House
within six weeks of the religious condition of their
respective counties and boroughs. Mr. White was
chairman both of the grand committee and of this
sub-committee, which was called indifferently the
committee for preaching, or for scandalous minis-
ters. It is now generally known by the latter appella-
tion. Its jurisdiction was gradually enlarged;—
the House, devolving on it from time to time
additional labours, for which new powers were re-
quired. On the 20th of March, 1641, it was directed
to draw up a bill against scandalous ministers, and
to take into consideration the propriety of sending
commissions into the counties to examine such.
And on the 6th of the following month it was re-
ferred to them “to consider of the state of hospitals

and free schools, and the misemployment and abuses of the revenues and government."^h

CHAP.
VII.

The immense number of petitions and complaints with which their table was crowded, at length induced the committee to divide into several smaller bodies, for the more prompt dispatch of business. These were distinguished by the name of their respective chairman, and were known as Mr. White's committee, Mr. Corbet's, Sir Robert Harlow's, and Sir Edward Deering's.ⁱ The necessity which existed for such a subdivision of labour, clearly proves that a vast number of clergymen must have been subjected to the scrutiny of this committee. The royalist writers loudly complain of injustice and cruelty, and charge the members of the committee with having entered on their functions resolved to deprive, and in every way to annoy, the conforming clergy. If their representations are to be received, the judgment generally formed of the *religious* character of the two parties must be instantly reversed, and the men of principle, of sound religious views, and of ministerial fidelity, must besought exclusively amongst those, who have hitherto been regarded by impartial men as possessed of little more than their loyalty to insure respect. An opportunity of investigating the correctness of the charges preferred against this committee will subsequently occur. It

Charges
against this
committee.

^h Nalson, i. 691. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part i. 63. These writers agree in assigning the formation of this committee to the 19th of December, 1640, but differ in the list which they give of its members. Nalson makes the number to be forty, and Walker sixty-two. Mr. Godwin, on whose accuracy in minute points I place

great reliance, says that the committee was appointed on the 12th, and originally consisted of forty persons, but that during the following week it was increased to eighty. Hist. of Commonwealth, i. 49.

ⁱ Nalson, ii. 245. Walker's Sufferings, part i. 65.

CHAP. will then probably appear that while some errors
VII. were committed, and a few false judgments were
CHARLES pronounced, their general proceedings were guided
I.

by a sincere regard for the interests of religion, and conduced in a remarkable degree to its extension. In proportion to the corrupt state of the clergy must have been the degree of suffering involved in a faithful discharge of the duties committed to their charge. Nor will an enlightened mind in duly appreciating the benefits which resulted from their labours fail to regret the mass of sorrow which it entailed.

Unpopularity
of the bishops. The episcopal bench now constituted the prominent object of attack both within the House and throughout the nation. From the commencement of this parliament a settled determination had been evinced to curtail the power of the bishops, and to confine them more strictly to the discharge of their spiritual functions. The moderate, as well as the ultra members of the constitutional party denounced their recent proceedings, and called for some legislative enactment to guard the nation from the consequences of their flagitious policy. But while the more calm and reflecting of the parliamentary leaders distinguished between the bishops and their order—defending the latter, while they condemned the former—the mass of the community lost sight of this distinction, and involved in one sweeping censure the ambitious churchman and his ecclesiastical office. Within the walls of parliament, however, there were originally but few who contemplated anything more than a reformation of the episcopal order. They wished to reduce the bishops from the rank of nobles to that of presidents over the clergy, and to see them invested with moral influence rather

than with secular wealth and dignities. Some few men undoubtedly there were in the House at this period, whose views extended farther than this. Their numbers were inconsiderable, but their talents and character gave them weight, and enabled them finally to triumph over the difficulties of their position. It was their province to watch the course of events, and to improve every circumstance which transpired. Men of less sagacity and practical wisdom would have precluded the possibility of success by a premature disclosure of their views; but these master-spirits, looking down upon the tumult and complexity of human passions, sought to render the errors of their opponents, and the half-heartedness of timid friends, subservient to their more enlarged and enlightened policy.

The disfavour with which the Commons regarded the secular occupations of the clergy, was displayed very early in the session, on a petition being presented by the inhabitants of Wood-church, in Kent, against their minister, Mr. Edward Bowen. On this occasion it was ordered by the House "That the lord keeper be desired to leave out the clergy in England and Wales at the renewing the Commission of the Peace;" and a committee was shortly afterwards appointed to confer with the Lords on the subject.^k This measure, however important as indicating the *animus* of the House, was but a precursor of the storm destined speedily to lay the church in ruins. To a sagacious observer it must have been a significant intimation of what was approaching, but the caution

Votes of the
Commons to
exclude the
Clergy from
Commissions
of the Peace,
&c.

^k Nalson, i. 747, 783.

CHAP. yet observed by such men as Hampden, Pym, and
 VII. Vane, prevented the consolidation of a party friendly
 CHARLES to the secular dignity of ecclesiastics. The question

^{1.} was kept continually before the House, as is evident by a series of resolutions which were successively adopted. On the 10th of March, after a long debate, it was resolved “That the legislative and judicial power of bishops in the House of Peers in parliament, is a great hinderance to the discharge of their spiritual functions, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by bill.” On the following day a similar vote was passed respecting their being in the Commission of the Peace, or having any judicial power in the Star Chamber, or in any civil court, and on the 26th of the same month their employment as privy councillors, or in any other temporal offices, was also condemned.¹

Bill to exclude
the bishops
from parlia-
ment.

These votes were preparatory to a bill to take away their seats in parliament, and to disqualify them for all other secular offices, which Clarendon informs us “was contrived with great deliberation and preparation, to dispose men to consent to it.”^m The framers of this decided measure would have been singularly deficient in sagacity and practical wisdom, if they had not endeavoured so to frame it as to obviate objections and to secure support. The bill passed the Commons with but slight opposition, and was sent up to the Lords on the 1st of May.ⁿ Efforts were made by Lord Kimbolton and the Earl of Essex to induce the bishops voluntarily to surrender their seats, but they refused to enter

¹ Nalson, i. 786, 787, 793.

^m Hist. of Rebellion, i. 410.

ⁿ Parl. Hist. ii. 773.

into any compromise, “resolving,” says Fuller, “to keep possession of their votes, till a prevalent power outed them thereof.”^o The political subserviency of the bishops was the circumstance which mainly induced the patriotic members of the Upper House to support this bill. They were not, with two or three exceptions, hostile to a moderate episcopacy, nor did they desire, on any religious ground, to diminish the honour and wealth of the dignitaries of the church. But the latter, unfortunately for their order, had shown themselves to be amongst the most supple servants of the crown, and their presence, in one branch of the legislature, was consequently regarded as incompatible with the success of measures favourable to popular freedom. “They seldom carried any thing,” it was remarked by such of the peers as sided with the country party, “which directly opposed the King’s interest, by reason of the number of the bishops, who, for the most part, unanimously concurred against it, and opposed many of their other designs.”^p The bill, though strongly opposed amongst the Lords, was read a first and a second time, and referred, as usual, to a committee; after which, the House having resumed, four resolutions were passed expressive of their Lordships’ consent to the exclusion of the clergy from the Star Chamber, the Privy Council, and other secular offices, but maintaining their right to a seat in parliament.^q A conference was subsequently appointed with the Commons, who refused to abandon that part of their bill to which the Lords demurred. It was, however,^r

^o Ch. Hist. xi. 185.
^p Clarendon, i. 410.

^q Parl. Hist. ii. 792, 794—814.

CHAP.
VII.

I.

May 24.

May 27.

June 7.

CHAP. VII. read a third time, but on the question being put whether it should pass into a law, it was negative CHARLES by a large majority.¹

Reasons
adduced by
the Commons
in support of
their bill.

I. The following were the reasons urged by the Commons in their conference with the other house in support of the measure. Bishops ought not to have votes in parliament. 1. "Because it is a great hinderance to their ministerial function. 2. Because they do vow, and undertake at their ordination, when they enter into holy orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that vocation. 3. Because councils and canons in several ages do forbid them to meddle in secular affairs. 4. Because the twenty-four bishops have dependence on the two archbishops, and take their oath of canonical obedience unto them. 5. Because they are but for their lives, and therefore are not fit to have legislative power over the honours, inheritance, persons, and liberties of others. 6. Because of bishops' dependency and expectancy of translation to places of greater profit. 7. That the several bishops have of late much encroached upon the consciences and liberties of the

¹ Parl. Hist. ii. 814, 818. Nalson, ii. 271. Clarendon's inaccuracies are exceedingly numerous, and for some of them it is difficult to account. In many cases a large measure of charity is required to hold him guiltless. Speaking of the rejection of the present measure, he says "The House could not be prevailed with, so much as to commit the bill (a countenance they frequently give to bills they never intend to pass), but at the second reading of it, they utterly cast it out." i. 415. The party

purpose to be served by such a representation of the temper of the Upper House is very obvious, but how it could be made to consist with the historian's information it is difficult to say. Clarendon's account has been followed by subsequent historians, with the single exception, so far as I am acquainted, of Mr. Godwin. Hist. of Commonwealth, i. 59. Mr. Lathbury goes beyond even Clarendon, representing the bill as "unanimously rejected by the Lords." Hist. of Episcopacy, 122.

subject; and they and their successors will be much encouraged still to encroach; and the subject will be much discouraged from complaining against such encouragement, if twenty-six of that order be to be judges upon that complaint. The same reason extends to their legislative power in any bill to pass for the regulation of that power, upon any emergent inconvenience by it. 8. Because the whole number of them are interested to maintain the jurisdiction of bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolished it. 9. Because the bishops being lords of parliament, it settleth too great a distance between them and the rest of their brethren in the ministry; which occasioneth pride in them, discontent in others, and disquiet in the church. And as to their having votes a long time, the answer is, if it be inconvenient, time and usage are not to be considered with law makers; some abbots voted as anciently in parliament as bishops, yet are taken away.”^s

Against these reasons it was argued by the advocates of the bishops that they were peers of the realm, that they had a legal right to sit and vote in parliament, and that they constituted a third estate of the realm. The antiquity of their claim was much insisted on, and the example of their exclusion was represented as pregnant with danger to the privileges of the other peers. “I think,” said the Lord Viscount Newark, one of the most zealous opponents of the bill, “he is a great stranger in anti-

Reasons
against the
bill.

Lord New-
ark's speech.

^s Rushworth, iii. 281. Nalson, ii. 260. An answer to these reasons, intitled *An Abstract, &c.*,

was speedily published, and was generally attributed to Bishop Williams.

CHAP. VII.
CHARLES I.
Bishop Williams's.

quity that is not well acquainted with the bishops' sitting here. They have done thus, and in this manner, ever since the conquest; and by the same power, and the same right, the other peers did, and your lordships now do; and to be put from this their due, so much their due, by so many hundred years strengthened and confirmed; and that without any offence, nay, pretence of any, seems to me to be very severe if it be *jus*, I dare boldly say it is *summum*. That this hinders their ecclesiastical vocation, an argument I hear much talk of, hath, in my apprehension, more of shadow than substance in it; if this be a reason, sure I am it might have been one 600 years ago And now, by your lordships' good leave, I shall speak to the consequence, as it reflects both on your lordships and my lords the bishops. Dangers and inconveniences are ever best prevented e longinquuo. This precedent comes near to your lordships, and such an one, that, mutato nomine, de vobis. Pretences are never wanting; nay, sometimes the greatest evils appear in the most fair and specious outsides; witness the ship money, the most abominable, the most illegal thing that ever was; and yet this was painted over with the colour of law. What bench is secure, if to allege be to convince? And which of your lordships can say then, He shall continue a member of this House, when, at one blow, twenty-six are cut off?"^t

Bishops Williams and Hall defended the right of the clergy with considerable ability. The former, especially, distinguished himself, though much of his reasoning is fallacious. The following passage

^t Nalson, ii. 251, 503. Parl. Hist. ii. 792.

from his speech, however conclusive against those who would exclude the clergy from all participation in secular affairs, utterly fails to show the propriety of their being invested ex officio with political rank and influence. "I am clearly of opinion that even in regard to convenience or policy, they (the clergy) ought not to be debarred from modestly intermeddling in secular affairs; for if there be any such inconvenience, it must needs arise from this: That to exercise some secular jurisdiction must be evil in itself, or evil to a person in holy orders; which is neither so nor so: for the whole office of a subordinate civil magistrate is most exactly described in Rom. xiii. 3, 4, and no man can add or detract from the same. The civil power is a divine ordinance, set up to be a terror to the evil, and an encouragement to good works. This is the whole compass of the civil power: and therefore I do here demand what is there of impiety, what of unlawfulness, what unbecoming either the holiness or calling of a priest in terrifying the bad, or comforting the good subject; in repressing of sin, and punishing of sinners? For this is the whole and entire act of civil jurisdiction. It is in its own nature repugnant to no person, to no function, to no sort or condition of men; let them hold themselves never so holy, never so seraphical, it becomes them very well to repress sin, and punish sinners; that is to say, to exercise in a moderate manner civil jurisdiction, if the sovereign shall require it."^u

The Commons were greatly incensed at the rejection of their measure, but instead of acquiescing in

Bills for the
abolition of
bishoprics,
&c.

^u Parl. Hist. ii. 794—806.

CHAP. VII. the decision of the Lords, they promptly introduced another bill, which contemplated far more extensive CHARLES and radical changes. It was intitled "A bill for

I. May 27. the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries; deans, deans and chapters; archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and all other their under officers."* The introduction of this measure has usually been attributed to mortified pride and ungovernable rage. But a little attention to dates will justify the wisdom and show the policy of its framers. They were not the mere creatures of impulse as their opponents allege, but men of searching intellects and of calm judgment, who held their passions under controul, and made them the ministers of their pleasure. On the 24th the Lords resolved to maintain the parliamentary seats of the bishops, and three days afterwards appointed a conference with the Lower House on the subject. On this latter day "the root and branch bill" was introduced, and the design of its authors was, evidently, to facilitate the passage of their former measure, by awakening the fears of the bishops and their adherents. It was hoped that their consent to that bill would be induced by the dread of more sweeping changes. The door was not closed against an accommodation, but it was significantly hinted to the friends of the Hierarchy what might be the consequences of farther opposition to the Commons. This was clearly the view of Sir Edward Deering, in submitting the more decided bill to the House. "When this bill is perfected," said he,

* Parl. Hist. ii, 814.

“ I shall give a sad *aye* unto it: and at the delivery thereof, I do now profess beforehand that if my former hopes of a full reformation may yet revive and prosper, I will again divide my sense upon this bill, and yield my shoulders to under-prop the primitive, lawful, and just Episcopacy.”^y The bill was read twice on the day of its introduction, the second reading being carried by a majority of 139 against 108.^z Having sufficiently intimated their purpose by the second reading, its supporters waited to see what influence it would exert on the Lords. The latter proved intractable, and four days after June 11. they had cast out the bill for excluding the clergy from secular offices, the Commons in a grand committee resumed the consideration of their other measure. Their sittings were continued during twenty days, and a series of resolutions was passed pledging the House not only to an extinction of the episcopal office, but also, to an entire alteration of the ecclesiastical government of the kingdom.^a The skilful trickery of Clarendon, however, averted for a season the blow aimed at the church. As

^y Speeches of Sir Edward Deerling, 27. Parl. Hist. ii. 815.

^z Rushworth, iii. 279. Nalson, ii. 257. Parl. Hist. ii. 815. Clarendon represents this bill as read only once on the day of its introduction, and leaves upon his readers the impression that the House was subsequently taken by surprise when its second reading was proposed. The authorities referred to above, are a sufficient refutation of his blunder. Hist. of Reb. i. 418, 482.

^a On the 17th of July the resolutions of the House bespeak a leaning towards Presbyterianism

more decisive than had previously appeared. It was then agreed that every shire should be a diocese, containing a presbytery of twelve divines, over whom the bishop should be as a president, and that in all ecclesiastical functions he should be assisted by some of the clergy. A diocesan synod was to be held annually, and a national one every three years, and the canons passed were not to be binding unless confirmed by parliament. Whitelocke, 45. Nalson, ii. 296.

CHAP.
VII.
CHARLES
I.

CHAP. chairman of the committee, he was enabled to inter-
 VII. pose obstacles to the progress of business, and thus to
 CHARLES protract the discussion. Time was hereby gained, and
 I. other circumstances of a more urgent nature having
 engaged the attention of the House, the present
 measure was abandoned.^b

This temporary success of the Episcopal party proved the ruin of the Hierarchy. The advocates of ecclesiastical reform were thus driven to the adoption of more violent measures than they had originally contemplated, while their opponents were encouraged to discountenance and reject those schemes of accommodation which the more moderate of their own number proposed. The former were strengthened in their conviction of the necessity of some radical change, and the latter were madly emboldened to risk the safety of their citadel, by defending the weakest and most worthless of its outposts.

Committee of Innovations.

So early as March, 1640-1, the Lords had appointed a committee, consisting of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons, to inquire into the religious innovations recently introduced, and to devise measures for promoting the peace and stability of the church. Laud, then in prison, disapproved of the constitution, and dreaded the influence of this committee. "So the lay votes," says the fallen primate, "shall be double to the clergy. This committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies; and will call some divine to them to

^b Rushworth, iii. 283—296. Nalson, ii. 275—305. Clarendon, i. 484. Godwin, i. 62. To the minute accuracy of the last of these writers I have been much

indebted. His indefatigable industry has brought to light many facts which had escaped the observation of his predecessors.

consider of the business. Upon the whole matter I believe this committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of this church. And what else may follow upon it, God knoweth.”^c A sub-committee of bishops and divines was appointed to prepare matters for the consideration of their lordships, which met at the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster.^d Their consultations, however, were abruptly closed by the introduction into the Commons house of a bill against deans and chapters, which so divided the opinions of the members of the committee, as to disqualify them for proceeding harmoniously together. “Some were of opinion,” says Fuller, “that the moderation and mutual compliance of these divines might have produced much good if not interrupted; conceiving such *lopping*

^c Laud’s Diary, 61. Baillie attributes the formation of this committee to the fears of the bishops. “The bishops,” he says, “to save the life of their office, have invented a trick, which, we trust, shall irritate the Lower House more against them. It is expected that this will be a spur to the Commons, not by their accustomed slowness to suffer their committees to be prevented, and so frustrated by this new devised one.” Four days afterwards he expresses a more favourable opinion of the constitution and probable results of this committee. “On the committee for religion,” he remarks, “in the Upper House are all the best lords. We are made to hope, that against the intention of the inventors of it, it may prove a good mean of the undoing of the bishops.” Letters i. 251, 256.

^d Laud’s Troubles, &c., 174. The following were the divines constituting this Sub-committee:

CHAP.
VII.CHARLES
I.

March 12.

Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln,
 Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh,
 Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham,
 Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter,
 Dr. Samuel Ward,
 Dr. John Prideaux,
 Dr. Sanderson,
 Dr. Featly,
 Dr. Brownrigge,
 Dr. Holdsworth,
 Dr. Hacket,
 Dr. Twisse,
 Dr. Burges,
 Mr. White,
 Mr. Marshall,
 Mr. Calamy,
 Mr. Hill.

Some of these were inclined to Presbyterianism, and others were the advocates of a reduced Episcopacy. As a whole, their selection for such an office was an indisputable evidence that even the Upper House was far from sanctioning the views and policy of the Laudian faction. Heylin’s Laud, 473.

CHAP. ^{VII.} might have saved the felling of episcopacy. Yea, — they are confident had this expedient been pursued **CHARLES I.** and perfected, it might, under God, have been a means, not only to have checked, but choked our civil war in the infancy thereof. But the court prelates expected no good from the result of this meeting, suspecting the *doctrinal puritans* (as they nicknamed them) joined with the *disciplinary puritans*, would betray the church betwixt them. Some Hotspurs would not have one ace of episcopal power or profit abated, and (though since confuted by their own hunger) preferred no bread before half a loaf. These maintained that any giving back of ground was in effect the granting of the day to the opposite party, so covetous they be to multiply their *cravings* on the other's *concessions*.^{ee}

Usher's
scheme.

Archbishop Usher, one of the most estimable men of his day, attempted to mediate between the two parties. His well known integrity and moderation eminently qualified him for the office, and would have insured his success in calmer times, or amongst men of less excited passions. The scheme which he proposed was subsequently published under the title of *The reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical government received in the ancient church*. It proceeded on the supposition that the government of the primitive church was in the hands of the Elders, over whom there was a president, styled in the Apocalypse the *angel*, and by the early fathers the *bishop*. “Betwixt the bishop and presbytery,” says Usher; referring to the church at Ephesus, “what a harmonious consent there was

^{ee} Ch. Hist. xi. 175. Neal, ii. 397.

in the ordering of the church government, the same CHAP.
Ignatius doth fully there declare; by the Presbytery, VII.
with St. Paul understanding the community of the CHARLES
rest of the Presbyters or Elders, who then had a I.
hand not only in the delivery of the doctrine and
sacraments, but also in the administration of the
discipline of Christ." He therefore proposed 1. That
in every parish the rector or incumbent, with the
churchwarden and sidesmen, should weekly admonish
such of their congregation as lived scandalously,
and failing to reclaim them, should debar them from
the Lord's table, and present them to the monthly
synod.

2. That whereas by a statute in the 26th Henry VIII., revived in the first year of Elizabeth, *suffragans* are appointed to be erected in twenty-six places; the number of them may be conformed to that of the rural deaneries, and a monthly synod of all the rectors or incumbent pastors within each be held, to decide by majority on all matters brought before them.

3. That a diocesan synod be held once or twice a year, wherein all the suffragans, together with the other rectors and incumbent pastors in the diocese, or a select number from each deanery might meet, by whom all matters of greater moment might be determined, and the orders of the monthly synod be revised, the bishops' consent being given to those measures only which a majority of the clergy so assembled should approve.

4. That a provincial synod, consisting of all the bishops and suffragans, with such of the clergy as should be elected out of each diocese in the province, should be held, the archbishop being moderator, or

CHAP. in his absence a bishop appointed by him. "This
VII. synod," adds Usher, "might be held every third
CHARLES year, and if the parliament do not then sit (accord-
I. ing to the act of a triennial parliament), both the

archbishops and provincial synods of the land might join together, and make up a national council; wherein all appeals from inferior synods might be received, all their acts examined, and all ecclesiastical constitutions which concern the state of the church of the whole nation be established." Such was the scheme by which the Irish primate hoped to preserve the constitution, and to render more effective the discipline of the English church. Had the members of his own party concurred in its adoption, there can be little doubt but that an overwhelming majority of the puritan clergy would have hailed it with delight. They were yet attached to the Hierarchy, and would have been content with such an abridgment of episcopal authority as Usher proposed. But the suggestions of reason were overborne by those of passion, and the golden opportunity was lost for ever. "It is very remarkable," says Neal, "and looks like an appearance of divine displeasure against the spirit of these times, that Archbishop Usher's scheme for the reduction of episcopacy, which at this time would have satisfied the chief body of the Puritans, could not be obtained from the king and the bishops; that afterwards, when the king offered this very scheme at the Isle of Wight, the Parliament and Puritan divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their Scots brethren. Again, when the Presbyterian ministers, at the restoration of King Charles the Second, presented it to his Majesty as a model with which they were

satisfied, and which would comprehend in a manner their whole body, both the king and bishops rejected it with contempt, and would not suffer it to be debated." ^{CHARLES I.}

Having failed in their design against the bishops, ^{Impeachment of the bishops.} the Commons now resorted to other expedients. Advantage was taken of the part which they had acted in the convocation of 1640, and a committee ^{July 30.} was appointed to draw up an impeachment of them on this account. This Committee reported to the House on the third of August; and on the following day Serjeant Wyld, in the name of the Commons, impeached thirteen members of the episcopal bench at the bar of the Lords, charging them with having made and promulgated "several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, containing in them diverse matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subjects, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence." The Commons thus hoped to terrify the bishops into a resignation of their seats, but the latter properly resolved to maintain their privileges. A conference took ^{August 4.} place between the two houses on the business; and the bishops were required to deliver in their answer on the sixteenth of September. Before that day, however, parliament was prorogued until the twentieth of October, soon after which the business ^{October 26.} was resumed by the Commons. On the twelfth of November, the bishops, with the exception of the Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded *not guilty*, by

CHAP. word of mouth, put in their answers in writing,
VII. which consisted of a *plea* and *demurrer* designed to
CHARLES show that what they had done in the late Convoca-
I. tion could not subject them to the penalties of a
premunire. The lower house objected to this
course as “dilatory and insufficient,” and desired
of the Lords “that the bishops be ordered to put in
a peremptory answer, such as they will stand to.”
But the peers refused to accede to this request, and
the bishops in consequence escaped.^g

They were respite for a time, only to fall with
more signal dishonour through their own impru-
dence and passion. What their enemies could not
accomplish, their own folly achieved.

^g Rushworth, iii. 359. Parl. Fuller, xi. 183. Nalson, ii. 715.
Hist. ii. 895, 901, 902, 918, 936.

CHAPTER VIII.

King's projected Journey to Scotland—Proclamation of the Commons against Innovations—Irish Rebellion—Schism in the Constitutional Party—The Remonstrance—Petition of the Commons—King's Reply—His Declaration—Protestation and Impeachment of the Bishops—Controversial Publications—Milton—Bishop Hall and Smectymnus.

THE attention of the Commons was now directed to the King's projected journey to Scotland. His object was well known to the parliamentary leaders, who were not likely to be overmatched in sagacity and promptitude by Charles or his advisers. It was only for them to feel the exigency of the crisis, and their measures were instantly formed, and as vigorously put into execution. The design of the King was to possess himself of the English army in the north, and to bind the Scotch to his interests by a liberal redress of their grievances. To these two points the attention of the Commons was therefore directed. Orders were forwarded to the general of the English forces, commanding him to disband the troops without delay; and commissioners were ap-

CHAP.
VIII.

I.

King's projected journey to Scotland.

CHAP. VIII. pointed to attend the King in Scotland on behalf of the Parliament.^a

CHARLES I. Having thus prepared for the danger which immediately threatened them, the Commons proceeded to pass several resolutions against the superstitious rites recently introduced into the Church. The Lords were requested to concur in these resolutions, but declining to do so, the lower house embodied them in the following

Proclamation
of the Com-
mons against
innovations.
September 8.

^a Rushworth, iii. 376, 378. Such was the exigency of the occasion, that the two houses resolved to meet on Sunday August the eighth, for the transaction of business. At six o'clock in the morning the Commons assembled at St. Margaret's church, Westminster, and heard a sermon, whence they adjourned about nine to their own house, and commenced business by adopting the following resolution. "That this house shall enter into consideration of no business whatsoever upon this day, but such as shall immediately concern the good advancement of religion, and safety of this kingdom." The judgment passed on their conduct in this case will be regulated by the view which is entertained of the propriety of their general policy. Those who regard their apprehensions of danger as feigned, and their patriotism as hypocritical, will condemn them as violators of the Christian sabbath; but others, who confide in their integrity, and believe that they had reason for alarm, will regard their case as one which fully justifies the course they pursued. I confess myself to belong to the latter class. The sabbath is made for man, and not man for the sabbath; and the men of whom I am writing were under an obligation of the highest order, which justified a departure, on so urgent

an occasion, from a positive institution. In order to guard against the possible evils which might flow from their conduct, the houses, with admirable scrupulousness, issued the following declaration. "Whereas both houses of parliament found it fit to sit in parliament upon the 8th day of August, being the Lord's day, for many urgent and unexpected occasions concerning the safety of the kingdom, they being so straightened in time, by reason of his Majesty's resolution to begin his journey towards Scotland on Monday following, early in the morning; that it was not otherwise possible for to settle and order the affairs of the kingdom, either for the government thereof in the King's absence, or for the present safety, as was requisite upon these present necessities. Though the houses thought it necessary to sit, yet the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, think it meet to declare, that they would not have done this but upon inevitable necessity; the peace and safety both of Church and State being so deeply concerned, which they do hereby declare, to the end that neither any other inferior court or council, or any other person, may draw this into example, or make use of it for their encouragement in neglecting the due observation of the Lord's day." Ibid. 362.

declaration, which they issued in their own name. CHAP.
VIII.
 “Whereas diverse innovations, in or about the worship of God, have been lately practised in this kingdom, by enjoining some things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesty’s subjects: for the suppression of such innovations, and for preservation of the public peace, it is this day ordered, by the Commons in Parliament assembled, that the churchwardens of every parish church and chapel respectively do forthwith remove the communion table from the east end of the church, chapel, or chancel, into some other convenient place, and that they take away the rails, and level the churches, as heretofore they were, before the late innovations.

“That all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the *Trinity*, and all images of the Virgin *Mary*, shall be taken away and abolished; and that all tapers, candlesticks, and basons be removed from the communion table.

“That all corporal bowing at the name (*Jesus*) or towards the east end of the church, chapel, or chancel, or towards the communion table, be henceforth forborne.

“That the orders aforesaid be observed in all the several cathedral and other churches of this kingdom, and all the collegiate churches or chapels in the two universities, or any other part of the kingdom; and in the *Temple* church, and the chapels of the other Inns of Court, by the deans of the said cathedral churches, by the Vice Chancellor of the said Universities, and by the heads and governors of the several colleges and halls aforesaid; and by the

CHAP. VIII. —— benchers and readers in the said Inns of Court respectively. That the Lord's day shall be duly observed and sanctified; all dancing, or other sports, either before or after divine service, be forbore and restrained, and that the preaching of God's word be permitted in the afternoon, in the several churches and chapels of this kingdom, and that ministers and preachers be encouraged thereunto."

The Lords were highly offended at the presumption of the Commons, in drawing up such a declaration, and resolved to reprint their order of the 16th January, 1641, against any alteration in the forms of public worship. The lower house deeming this unseasonable, refused their consent, and required the obedience of the nation to the regulations they had issued.^b By such altercations the hostile temper and policy of the two houses were exhibited; but the strength of the Lords was unequal to the conflict. In times of general tranquillity, the upper house may be able to preserve its relative position, and to confer some benefits on the nation; but in those seasons of change which occasionally transpire, when the foundations of society are examined, and the visions of the future supplant the remembrance of the past, it must invariably yield to the omnipotence of the popular branch of the legislature.

Rebellion.

During the King's stay in Scotland the Irish rebellion broke out; and, from the atrocities which marked its progress, produced a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the empire. All the malignant passions of a half-barbarous and deeply-injured people were at once let loose upon society,

^b Rushworth, iii. 386. Nalson, ii. 482—485. Clarendon, ii. 7.

and the result was a fearful addition to the history of human crime. Religious fanaticism—in its most frenzied and inhuman form—was added to national antipathy, and the long cherished remembrance of a thousand wrongs. Intelligence of this disastrous event was conveyed to Charles at Edinburgh, and to the Parliament which sat at Westminster. The country party, generally, regarded it as a result of the King's intrigues; and their suspicions and fears were hereby greatly increased. It was well known that he had been in correspondence with some of the men who acted a prominent part in the rebellion, and that he was exceedingly desirous of retaining the Irish army, which the Parliament insisted on having broken up. “The rebels,” observes Mr. Brodie, who has entered largely into an examination of this affair, “ever declared that they acted by the royal authority, in opposition to the puritan party, whose measures were no less hurtful to the prerogative than baneful to them.”^c Yet an impartial judgment must incline to the opinion, that though there were many circumstances in the King's conduct exceptionable and suspicious, yet he was wholly free from the guilt of countenancing the insurrection, and honestly abhorred the murderous cruelty with which it was carried on.^d It served, however, very greatly to prejudice his affairs, and to rekindle the declining zeal of many who had been accustomed to support his parliamentary opponents.

Various circumstances had contributed to divide and weaken the constitutional party. Some of the

Schism in the
constitutional
party.

^c Hist. of British Empire, iii. 189.

pro and con with his usual im-

^d May, 81—87, 99—101. Dr. Harris has stated the arguments

partiality. Life of Charles the First, 390—408.

CHAP.
VIII.

I.

CHAP. more moderate reformers, who had concurred in the
VIII. earlier and wisest measures of the Parliament, be-
CHARLES came alarmed at the spirit of innovation and change
I. which was abroad. Though willing to restrain the royal prerogative, they were strenuous advocates of the theory of the Constitution, and were therefore averse from those measures which, depriving the Crown of all real authority, would render the Parliament, and probably the Commons, the sole depository of power. They confided in the integrity of the King to abide by the concessions which he had made; while their deserted associates honestly believed that the only effectual security for the national liberties was to be found in his weakness. The influence of the hierarchy was also adverse to the popularity of the Commons. So long as the latter confined themselves to the correction of clerical abuses, they were supported by an overwhelming majority of their countrymen; but when they openly aimed at the subversion of the episcopal order, and contemplated the substitution of another and more simple form of government, the honest convictions of some, and the interested feelings of others, were arrayed against them. The intemperate zeal of many sectaries also awakened the apprehensions of cautious and timid men: who began to think that their only security against a thousand imaginary dangers, was in the sobriety of ancient forms, and the monarchical principle of the Constitution. Thus it generally happens in the course of human affairs. Light and inconstant spirits are found to mingle themselves with the earliest movements of reform, but they are soon wearied with the labour, or disgusted by the sacri-

fices which are involved. "Some are taken off," ^{CHARLES I.} CHAP.
VIII. remarks May, whose account of this reaction is marked by his usual discrimination and candour, "by time, and their own inconstancy, when they have looked for quicker redress of grievances than the great concurrence of so many weighty businesses (in a long discontinued and reforming parliament) can possibly admit, how industrious soever they may be, distracted as they were with so great a variety. Those people, after some time spent, grew weary again, of what before they had so long wished to see; not considering that a prince, if he be averse from such a parliament, can find power enough to retard their proceedings, and keep off for a long time the cure of the State. When that happens, the people, tired with the apprehensions of such a cure, do usually by degrees forget the sharpness of those diseases which before required it; or else, in the redressing of many and long disorders, and to prevent them for the future, there being for the most part a necessity of laying heavy taxes, and draining of much money from the people, they grow extremely sensible of that present smart, feeling more pain by the cure for a time than they did by the lingering disease before, and not considering that the causes of all which they now endure were precedent, and that their present suffering is necessary for their future security."^e

Such was the state of public affairs when the parliament re-assembled on the 20th of October. The situation of the popular leaders was one of extreme difficulty and peril. Deserted by some of their

The Remonstrance.

^e Hist. of the Long Parliament, 76.

CHAP. associates, with a vacillating public, and an opposing House of Lords, they may well have contemplated their situation with dread. Men of less

I.

integrity and firmness would have sought to make their peace with the Court, or, abandoning the struggle in despair, would have left the monarch to regain the power which they had wrested from his hands. But Pym and Hampden, and their compatriots, were fitted to grapple with and to master the difficulties of such a crisis. They were inaccessible to fear, and were incapable of corruption. From their knowledge of the character of Charles, they were assured that the liberties of the nation were insecure, so long as he possessed the power of invading them. They therefore determined to prosecute the duties of their high vocation, and to bring their case in its length and breadth before the judgment of the nation. The principal danger against which they had to guard was the lukewarmness of their followers, consequent on a supposed attainment of their object. It was their policy therefore to keep before the eye of the nation the enormities which had been practised by the government of Charles ; lest the enjoyment of present freedom should erase the remembrance of his past oppressions and crimes. For this purpose their celebrated declaration was eminently fitted, and the opposition with which it was encountered by the Court advocates fully establishes the sagacity of its framers. "It admits of no question, that the schemes of Pym, Hampden, and St. John, already tended to restrain the King's personal exercise of any effective power, from a sincere persuasion that no confidence could ever be placed in him, though not to abolish the monarchy,

or probably to abridge in the same degree the rights of his successor. Their remonstrance was put forward to stem the returning tide of loyalty, which not only threatened to obstruct the further progress of their endeavours, but, as they would allege, might, by gaining strength, wash away some at least of the bulwarks that had been so recently constructed for the preservation of liberty.”^f

The debate on the Remonstrance was one of the warmest and most protracted which had taken place during this parliament, and its adoption was ultimately carried by the small majority of 159 to 148. Both parties regarded it as a trial of strength, and exerted themselves to the utmost. Clarendon reports that Cromwell, on leaving the House, remarked to Lord Falkland, “that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution.”^g This celebrated manifesto contained a minute specification of all the grievances and misgovernment which had existed from the King’s accession, together with a recapitulation of the beneficial acts to which he had given his assent during the present parliament. The political matters of which it treats are beside the province of this history, and the following passage will sufficiently indicate the complexion of its ecclesiastical views. Speaking of their opponents, whom they style “this malignant party,” the Commons say, “They infuse into the people that we mean to abolish all church government, and leave every man

CHAP.
VIII.CHARLES
I.

Nov. 22.

^f Hallam, ii. 166.^g Hist. of Rebellion. ii. 43.

CHARLES I. **CHAP. VIII.** to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, — absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be intrusted with the ecclesiastical law as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the church of England by such rules of order and discipline as are established by parliament; which is his great council in all affairs both in church and state. We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power, which the prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the word of God and to the laws of the land, to which end we passed the bill for the removing them from their temporal power and employments: that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions, which bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it. And we do here declare that it is far from our purpose or desire, to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they please, for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the word of God. And we desire to unburden the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry. And the better to effect the intended reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island; assisted with some from foreign parts, professing the same religion with us; who may consider of all

things necessary for the peace and good government of the church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom. They have maliciously charged us that we intend to destroy and discourage learning, whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscientious and preaching ministers throughout the kingdom, which will be a great encouragement to scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, meanness, and ignorance, to which a great part of the clergy is now subject, will be prevented.

"And we intended likewise to reform and purge the fountains of learning, the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land."^b

In the petition which accompanied this declaration, the Commons allege the necessity under which they were placed of drawing up such a document, "which," say they, "we do humbly present to your Majesty, without the least intention to lay any blemish upon your royal person, but only to represent how your royal authority and trust have been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of your Majesty, and of all your good subjects." They then enumerate the measures yet necessary for the welfare of the nation, and to which they earnestly solicit his Majesty's consent. Those which respected the church are thus adverted to: "That you will

The petition of
the Commons.

^b Rushworth, iii. 450.

CHAP. VIII.
CHARLES I.

be graciously pleased to concur with the humble desires of your people in a parliamentary way, for the preserving the peace and safety of the kingdom from the malicious designs of the popish party. For depriving the bishops of their votes in parliament, and abridging their immoderate power usurped over the clergy, and other your good subjects, which they have perniciously abused, to the hazard of religion, and great prejudice and oppression of the laws of the kingdom and just liberty of your people. For the taking away such oppressions in religion, church government, and discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.

“ For uniting all such your loyal subjects together, as joyn in the same fundamental truths against the papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest, and for the due execution of those good laws, which have been made for securing the liberty of your subjects.”ⁱ

This petition, with its accompanying statement, was presented to the King, at Hampton-court, on the 1st of December, and was shortly afterwards ordered by the Commons to be printed for general circulation.^k Such a step could not fail to be highly offensive to the King, and he therefore immediately proceeded, in self-defence, to print his answer to their petition, together with an able reply to their remonstrance.

Dec. 15.

King's reply
to the petition
of the Com-
mons.

In the former of these documents he asserts his faithful adherence to the protestant faith, and his

ⁱ Rushworth, iii. 437.

^k Nalson, ii. 743. Parl. Hist. ii. 970.

determination to support the constitution and worship of the Established Church. "For preserving the peace and safety of this kingdom," says the CHARLES I.
CHAP. VIII.
monarch, "from the design of the popish party, we have, and will still concur with all the just desires of our people in a parliamentary way. That for depriving of the bishops of their votes in parliament, we would have you consider that their right is grounded upon the fundamental law of the kingdom and constitution of the parliament. Unto that clause which concerneth corruptions (as you style them) in religion, in church government, and in discipline, and the removing of such unnecessary ceremonies as weak consciences might check at: that for any illegal innovations, which may have crept in, we shall willingly concur in the removal of them. That if our parliament shall advise us to call a national synod, which may duly examine such ceremonies as give just cause of offence to any, we shall take it into consideration, and apply ourself to give due satisfaction therein; but we are very sorry to hear in such general terms corruption in religion objected, since we are persuaded in our conscience that no church can be found upon the earth that professeth the true religion with more purity of doctrine than the Church of England doth, nor where the government and discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from superstition, than as they are here established by law, which, by the grace of God, we will with constancy maintain (while we live) in their purity and glory, not only against all invasions of popery, but also from the irreverence of those many schismatics and Separatists, wherewith of late this kingdom and this city

CHAP. VIII. abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of church and state, for the suppression of whom we CHARLES require your timely aid and active assistance.”^l

*Declaration
of the King.*

In connexion with this reply the King published a Declaration in answer to the Remonstrance of the Commons. It was drawn up by Clarendon with his characteristic ability, and was eminently adapted to engage the sympathies of those who forget the oppressions, in view of the humiliation, of their sovereign. Skilfully passing over those parts of the Remonstrance which adverted to his misgovernment and specified the beneficial acts of the present parliament, it magnified his zeal against popery, and avowed a readiness to relax partially the rigour of ecclesiastical laws. Throughout this celebrated document the king endeavours to keep out of view the charges preferred against his government, and to attach to his opponents the malignancy which they imputed to his advisers. The illegal exactions, and violent invasions of public liberty, which had characterised the former part of his reign, are glossed over as “the accidents and necessities of those times,” not to be unpleasantly remembered through the gratitude and affection inspired by recent benefits.^m

These documents were the commencement of a

^l Rushworth iii. 452.

^m Nalson, 746—750. Clarendon tells us that he drew up this paper merely for his own gratification, and without any view of submitting it to the king, but that Lord Digby, having accidentally seen it, recommended its adoption to Charles. The wily courtier hesitated for a time, but at length

consented to the request of his monarch, insisting on a promise of secrecy, and that the document should go forth with the sanction of the privy council. It was seldom that Clarendon’s loyalty was exempt from the charge of selfishness. Life of Clarendon, i. 97—100.

paper war between the parliament and king, in which each party criminated the other, and made its appeal to the judgment of the nation. It must now have been obvious to intelligent observers that the present state of things could not long continue. The two parties as yet spoke of each other with respect. The king distinguished between the parliament, and a malignant party in it; while the latter, in condemning his government and reprobating his ministers, employed the most respectful and dutiful language concerning his person.ⁿ But they could not long remain in this position. A thousand circumstances contributed to bring on the crisis which speedily ensued. We may deplore the evils which it involved, but no wisdom or virtue could probably have availed to prevent it. The breaking out of the Irish insurrection, and the report which reached London of the scheme formed in Scotland under the auspices of the king against some popular peers, had induced the parliament to appoint a guard for its own protection, which Charles immediately dismissed on his return to London. This led to an altercation, that increased the irritation previously existing, and strengthened the suspicions of the

ⁿ The apparent inconsistency which this gave to the proceedings of the parliament, and on which uncandid and superficial writers have founded grave charges, was in perfect keeping with the constitutional principle now universally recognised, that the king can do no harm. The patriotic leaders of the parliament were in this, as in all other respects, greatly in advance of their countrymen. "The parliament," says Mrs. Hutchinson,

"showed such a wonderful respect to the king, that they never mentioned him, as he was the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evil counsellors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have been used to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evil counsellors and ministers of state, which flattery and fear they have to answer for: I am sure they have thereby exposed themselves to much scandal." Memoirs, i. 141.

CHAP.
VIII.

I.

CHAP. popular leaders. The king appointed a guard of
VIII. his own selection, against which the parliament
CHARLES protested as a breach of its privileges,—requesting

I. that the trained bands of London, under the command of the Earl of Essex, might be directed to provide for their safety.^o In the meantime the populace assembled in large numbers around the two Houses, and gave indubitable indications of their hostility to the Court and Episcopal party. Numerous petitions were also presented, some praying for the maintenance of the Hierarchy, and others urging its immediate destruction.^p The two parties put forth all their strength, as if aware of the importance which attached to the present period. All classes of society bestirred themselves. The young and the old, the philosopher and the poet, the divine and the infidel, the titled noble and the unknown peasant, leaving their ordinary avocations, hastened to take part in the mighty struggle. Society was moved to its lowest depths, and heaved with emotions adapted to awaken both fears and hopes. In the ordinary states of a community, it is difficult to realize the force of those influences by which men are impelled at more stormy and eventful seasons. We calmly reason, and accurately distinguish, where the great body of our countrymen were swept along by the impulse of ungovernable passions.

^o Rushworth, iii. 434, 435, 436. Nalson, ii. 801. A committee was appointed by the Commons, November 29, to draw up their reasons for desiring a guard.

^p Nalson has printed several of these petitions, ii. 720, 726, 733,

758, 764, 775, and has added comments on some of them, which display the splenetic humour of a party writer, rather than the impartiality of a collector of historical documents. Rushworth is infinitely his superior.

Hitherto the bishops had successfully resisted the efforts of the Lower House to deprive them of their seats in parliament. But the hour of their fate was now arrived, and their own folly sealed it. Having been obstructed by the populace in proceeding to the Lords, twelve of them met at the Archbishop of York's, and drew up a paper addressed to the King and Peers, in which they declared that they were prevented by popular violence from attending in their place, and protested against "all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations," which have been or may be passed during their absence.^q This protestation was carried to the king, at Whitehall, by the archbishop, and having been hastily glanced over by his Majesty, was communicated, at his direction through the lord keeper, to the House of Peers.^r The Lords were incensed beyond measure at the presumption of the bishops, and instantly resolved to solicit a conference with the Commons, to whom they reported that the petition containing matters of high and dangerous consequence, intrenching

CHAP.
VIII.

CHARLES I.

Protestation
and impeach-
ment of the
bishops.

Dec. 30.

^q Rushworth iii. 466. Nalson, ii. 794. The former of these writers dates the protestation Dec. 10th, the other Dec. 30th. I have followed the latter. Whitelock gives the date Jan. 12th.

^r Clarendon, ii. 114. This writer charges the protestation upon the "pride and passion" of Williams. But if the archbishop was criminal in drawing it up, under the impulse of the provocation he had received, what must be thought of the king's sagacity, to whom it was submitted in cold blood, and who readily caught at the prospect it afforded him of

getting rid of a parliament which he mortally hated. "As to Charles," says Mr. Godwin, "it had always been his disposition, both in Scotland and here, to seek for nullities, by which to set aside measures that he inwardly disliked. Nothing could be more apt for this purpose than the present protestation, which, if it were valid, would vitiate and undermine all proceedings in the two houses of parliament, till the bishops should think proper to resume their seats." Hist. of the Commonwealth, i. 70. Brodie, iii. 253.

CHAP. VIII. upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliament, required a speedy and sudden resolution.
CHARLES I. The popular party instantly perceived the advantage which their opponents had given them, and determined vigorously to pursue it. Returning to their own house, they proposed the impeachment of the bishops for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and being of parliament; and so universal was the disgust which their pride and passion had awakened, that Clarendon tells us “There was only one gentleman who spoke on their behalf, and said, He did not believe they were guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad; and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam.”^s

The resolution of the Commons was immediately carried into execution, and on the evening of the same day ten of the bishops were committed to the Tower, and two others, on account of their great age, to the milder custody of the black rod.^t Thus was effected, with unparalleled ease and rapidity, what the country party had for some time vainly sought to accomplish. While the attendance of the bishops in the Upper House was continued, and their strength undivided, it was hopeless to attempt to carry those measures of ecclesiastical change on which the popular leaders were intent. The number of the bishops enabled the Court party to reject such measures: but now that twelve of

^s Hist. of Rebellion, ii. 121.

^t Rushworth, iii. 467—469. Nalson ii. 795, 796. Parl. Hist. ii. 994—998. Neal, on the authority of Fuller, inaccurately states that Hall was one of the bishops com-

mitted to the black rod. It was the bishops of Durham, and of Litchfield and Coventry, who received this favour. Hist. of Puritans, ii. 454.

them were excluded, and the reputation of the whole order was greatly diminished, a new and more inspiring prospect opened on the Commons.^a

CHAP.
VIII.

I.

While the public mind was deeply agitated by these measures, each of the contending parties sought to influence its decision through the medium of the press. The strong and indignant feelings of men long crushed by oppression, found utterance in bitter and reproachful terms. The victims of Laud, exulting in their escape from his tyranny, summoned up all their force, and with terrible energy assailed both his character and order. The youthful Milton, fresh from his travels, and fraught with the learning of ancient times, was foremost in the struggle. "When I was preparing," he says, in 1654, "to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received, of the

Controversial
publications.

^a Collier excepts to the judgment of Clarendon on the conduct of the bishops, in a style somewhat unsuited to the character of a divine. "With due regard," he says, "to this noble historian, the bishops' conduct seems fairly defensible. Had they done less, they had fallen short of that fortitude which might justly be expected from them; for since their going to the House was utterly impracticable—since their complaint to the Lords and Commons had been disregarded—which way could they maintain their station, and secure their peerage, but by entering their *protestation*? To hope for either favour or justice at this juncture, was too sanguine an expectation. They had reason to conclude the *root* and *branch* work would certainly go forward. And therefore to have been silent under such outrage, would have

been unseasonable caution, and looked like cowardice. When the prospect is thus menacing, and a man is almost certain to be undone, the most creditable expedient is to spend himself in a blaze, and flash to the last grain of powder. To go out in smoke and smoulder, is but a mean way of coming to nothing: to creep and crawl to a misfortune, is to suffer like an insect: a man ought to fall with dignity and honour, and keep his mind erect, though his fortune happens to be crushed. This was the bishops' ease and meaning; they were willing to save their privilege and support their character; and for making so handsome a retreat, they seem to have obliged their memory, and ought to stand commended upon record." Eccl. Hist. ii. 819.

CHAP. civil commotions in England, made me alter my
VIII. purpose ; for I thought it base to be travelling for
CHARLES amusement abroad while my fellow-citizens were

I. fighting for liberty at home.”^y His ardent mind had caught the inspiration of the classic age, and was forced by the strength of its impulse “to embark on a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies.” He plunged into the controversy with the desperate resolution of a man who felt that upon his single prowess the fate of the nation and of the church was suspended. He asked no quarter, and he gave no mercy. His denunciations are terrible, and his fierce rebuke of prelatrical usurpation and cruelty evince the violence of the rebound which had followed the enfranchisement of the national mind. “Look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church,” said the immortal bard, in one of those seraphic invocations to the Deity with which his writings abound, “leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock ; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants ! O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watch-word to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvoke us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again ; never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear

^y Second Defence—Milton’s Prose Works, p. 933. Ed. 1834.

the bird of morning sing! Be moved with pity at
the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that
now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling
against the grudges of more dreadful calamities!"^z

CHAP.
VIII.

I.

Milton's three treatises, on "Reformation in England," on "Prelatical Episcopacy," and "The Reason of Church Government," all published in 1641, did more to evince the compass and force of our language than any other production of the age. Their intellectual energy overpowers and staggers the mind, while the high melody and pure devotion of some of their periods allay the storms of passion, and charm the soul to rest. The gigantic intellect of England's poet loved to break away from the idle logomachies and antiquarian researches within which feebler minds were bounded, and to soar to the pure regions of thought, where its highest capabilities might be developed, and the noblest trophies be won. His productions are undoubtedly distinguished by glaring defects, if tried by the standard of modern taste; but if the character of his times, and the thrilling interest of the events passing around him are taken into account, there will be little need for apology or extenuation. Amidst all their coarseness and abuse, their passionate declamation and fierce invective, there is no difficulty in detecting the lofty patriotism and high-toned morality of the writer.^a

^z On Reformation, Works, p.20.

^a No writings in ancient or modern times are more richly studded than those of Milton. Nothing can exceed the splendour both of diction and of sentiment, with which they abound. The following address, occurring in the treatise on *Reformation*, to

the English and Scotch nations, then united in the defence of their common liberty, cannot be read, even in modern times, without awaking the highest admiration, mingled with the profoundest reverence, and the most implicit faith. "Go on, both hand in hand, O nations, never to

Though Milton's productions are undoubtedly the most able of those which appeared on the puritan side, other disputants engaged at the time much more of public attention. The future defender of the Commonwealth was yet unknown, and his publications were consequently unaided by the party standing of their author. Bishop Hall, and Smeectymnuus, however, as the representatives and champions of hostile parties, engaged universal attention, and their controversy was regarded as decisive of the struggle. It was commenced by the Bishop in 1640, in "An humble remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament," in which he acknowledges the divine blessing "in a much-longed-for parliament" having been convened, and sets forth the all-absorbing interest with which its proceedings were watched by the nation. "There are not more eyes in these three interested kingdoms," says the prelate, "than are now bent upon you; yea, all the neighbour churches and kingdoms, if I may not say the whole Christian world, and no small part beyond it, look wishly upon your faces, and with stretched-out necks gaze at the issue of your great meeting."^b He complains that "many furious and malignant spirits every where have burst forth into

be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits; (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?) but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state; then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or out-

landish cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety which are but two runagates; join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations." Works, p. 17.

^b Humble Remonstrance, p. 3.

CHAP.
VIII.

CHARLES
I.

Bishop Hall
and Smeectymnuus.

scandalous libels, bitter pasquines, railing pamphlets, wherein they have endeavoured, through the sides of some disliked persons, to wound that sacred government which derives itself from the times of the blessed apostles, without any interruption, unto this present age," and then proceeds to his more immediate object.^c The main design of the "Humble Remonstrance" was to commend the liturgy, and episcopal order of the English church to the favour of parliament. Gratuitous assumptions and inconclusive reasonings are employed; but the general temper of the publication is good, and the tone of liberality which it breathes strangely contrasts with most of the works which issued from the school of Laud.^d Hall was a strenuous advocate for established forms of prayer, yet his zeal did not prejudice him against the occasional use, both in private and in public, of extempore supplication. He maintained also the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, in opposition to the founders of his church, as well as to the presbyterians of his day; yet he guarded his proposition with such candour as to divest it of its most uncharitable consequences. Laud maintained that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops; but Hall repudiated this dogma in terms scarcely consistent with the main position of his former treatise. "Our position," he remarks,

CHAP.
VIII.CHARLES
I.^c Humble Remonstrance, 7.^d In the early part of this year, Hall had published a treatise entitled "Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted." He had undertaken its composition at the request of Laud, to whom the first sketch of the work was submitted in October 1639. Laud objected to several of his positions, some of

them involving important principles; and Hall was obsequious enough to adopt his suggestions. How far this comported with integrity let those writers show who are fond of impeaching the honesty of the puritans. Heylin's Laud, 398—402. Jones's Life of Hall, 153—166.

CHAP. VIII. “is only affirmative ; implying the justifiableness and holiness of an episcopal calling, without any further implication. When we speak of divine

I.

right, we mean not an express law of God, requiring it upon the absolute necessity of the being of a church (what hindrances soever may interpose) but a divine institution, warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had. Every church, therefore, which is capable of this form of government, both may and ought to affect it, as that which is with so much authority derived from the apostles, to the whole body of the church upon earth ; but those particular churches, to whom this power and faculty is particularly denied, lose nothing of the true essence of a church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection, whereof they are debarred by the necessity of their condition : neither are liable to any more imputation in their credit and esteem, than an honest, frugal, officious tenant, who, notwithstanding the proffer of all obsequious services, is tied down to the limitations and terms of a hard landlord.”^e

To this treatise an answer was speedily published by Smectymnuus, a fictitious appellation composed of the initial letters of the names of five puritan divines.^f It was called “ An Answer to a book entitled ‘ An Humble Remonstrance,’ in which the original of liturgy and episcopacy is discussed.” These divines undertook to establish the scriptural equality of bishops and presbyters ; to point out the occasion of episcopal superiority ; to evidence the

^e Humble Remonstrance, p. 30.

^f Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew

Newcomen, and William Spursthew.

dissimilarity between ancient and modern bishops; to vindicate the antiquity of ruling elders; and to bound the prelatical church. Their treatise displays considerable learning and controversial acuteness, but is disfigured by the intemperance and asperity too common to the productions of the day. Bishop Hall was then principally known as a polemical writer, who had recently been employed by Laud to advocate his ultra views of ecclesiastical government. He is therefore treated with little respect by his opponents, and is confounded with the herd of court divines who had lent their influence to the ambitious schemes of the primate. The publication exerted considerable influence, and was constantly appealed to as an authoritative exposition of the views of its party.

Hall rejoined in “A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus,” dedicated to the King, in which he affects to despise his opponents, and to write only in deference to the weakness and ignorance of the public. This perhaps was natural in a heated disputant who felt assured of the soundness of his cause: yet is scarcely compatible with the fretted temper which the bishop’s performance so clearly betrays.

Smectymnuus immediately replied in “A Vindication of the Answer,” &c., and the controversy was closed by the publication of “A short Answer to the tedious vindication of Smectymnuus, by the author of the Humble Remonstrance.”^g These publica-

^g Milton took part in this controversy, by the publication of two treatises, the first in 1641, entitled “Animadversions

upon the Remonstrant’s Defence against Smectymnuus;” and the second in 1642, under the title of “An Apology for Smectymnuus.”

CHAP.
VIII.

I.

CHARLES

CHAP. tions, all of which, with the exception of the
VIII. "Humble Remonstrance," appeared in 1641, still
CHARLES possess considerable interest, and should be dili-
I. gently studied by such as are desirous of under-
standing the controversies of that day. Different
judgments will be pronounced on their respective
merits, according to the views which are enter-
tained on the questions they debate; but no candid
reader will hesitate to admit the general competency
of the disputants, and the strong convictions under
which they severally wrote.

Both of these productions are characterised by majestic diction, and an overwhelming force of intellect. In the former of them occurs one of the most splendid passages to be found in the whole compass of human writings; the interest of which is deepened by a prophetic intimation of the

poet's future achievement. He commemorates, in language worthy of the theme, the deliverances which had been wrought on behalf of his country, and, glowing with celestial ardour, pours forth the strains of paradise amidst the harsh and discordant sounds of earth.

CHAPTER IX.

Impeachment of the Popular Leaders—Their attempted arrest—Bishops ejected from Parliament—Rupture between the King and Parliament—Vindication of the latter—Baxter's Judgment—The King's Party—The Parliamentarians—Public Amusements forbidden—Early prosperity of the King's Cause—Negotiations of Parliament with the Scotch—Intolerant demands of the Presbyterians—Cautious procedure of the English Patriots.

AN important advantage was now given to the country party, by a rash and unconstitutional invasion of the privileges of Parliament by the King. The worst suspicions of his opponents were thus confirmed, and the public mind was wrought up to a pitch of frenzy. Had it been the object of Charles to destroy his last hope, by increasing in a tenfold degree the popularity of his opponents, he could not have adopted a more suitable expedient. It at once revealed the blackness of his designs, and committed to an irreclaimable hostility the men whom he ought to have conciliated. But Charles was incapable of forming a calm and enlightened judgment on passing events. He possessed the spirit of a tyrant without his power; and was, in consequence, perpetually attempting what he could not

CHAP.
IX.
CHARLES
I.
Impeachment
of the popu-
lar leaders.

CHAP. execute. At the command of the King, the Attorney-General appeared in the House of Lords, and
 IX. CHARLES accused Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the
 I. Commons, of high treason.^a The Serjeant at Arms,
 Jan. 3. on the same day, repaired to the lower house, and demanded from the Speaker that Danzil Hollis, Sir John Haslerig, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Stroud, should be committed to his custody. The Lords appointed a committee to examine precedents ; and the Commons deputed three of their members to wait on his Majesty, and to inform him, “That his message was a matter of great consequence ; that it concerns the privileges of parliament, and therein the privileges of all the Commons of England. That the house would take it into serious consideration, and will attend his Majesty with an answer in all humility and duty, with as much speed as the greatness of the business will permit.”

The King enters the Commons to seize them.

Jan. 4.

The King was unsatisfied with these dilatory and cautious proceedings, and rashly determined on repairing to the house with a sufficient force to execute his design. The Commons were informed of his approach, and instantly ordered the accused members to retire. The guards, and other attendants of the King, remained in Westminster Hall, while he advanced to the Speaker’s chair, and asked whether the accused were in the house. The

^a The articles preferred against them are couched in general terms, and were understood by some to be grounded mainly on their parliamentary conduct, and by others to refer principally to their alleged correspondence with the Scots. Clarendon, who lays

the blame of this affair on Lord Digby, intimates, in one place, that it was prompted by the fears of the Queen, and was designed to anticipate and prevent a similar charge being preferred against herself. Hist. of Rebellion, ii. 231.

answer he received must have aroused him instantly to a sense of the impotency and madness of his procedure. "I have neither eyes to see," said the Speaker, falling on his knees, "nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here." "I see all the birds are flown," remarked the mortified Charles ; and as he left the house, the ominous cry of Privilege, Privilege, struck upon his ears. The city was instantly in arms ; and from one end of the kingdom to the other an irrepressible feeling of indignation broke forth. The infatuated monarch had done more to stem the returning tide of loyalty than the most inveterate of his enemies could have accomplished.^b The Commons immediately appointed a committee, and then adjourned to the eleventh of January. On the day of their reassembling, the impeached members were conveyed from the city to

CHAP.
IX.

L.

Jan. 5.

^b "It cannot be expressed," says Clarendon, "how great a change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of people, in town and country, upon the late proceedings of the King. They, who had before even lost their spirits, having lost their credit and reputation, except amongst the meanest people, who could never have been made use of by them, when the greater should forsake them ; and so despaired of ever being able to compass their designs of malice or ambition, (and some of them had resumed their old resolutions of leaving the kingdom), now again recovered greater courage than ever, and quickly found that their credit and reputation was as great as ever it had been, the Court being reduced to a lower condition and to more disesteem and neglect than ever it had undergone. All that they

had formerly said of plots and conspiracies against the parliament, which had before been laughed at, was now thought true and real ; and all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great wisdom and foresight. All that had been whispered of Ireland, was now talked aloud and printed ; as all other seditious pamphlets and libels were. The shops of the city generally shut up, as if an enemy were at their gates to enter, and to plunder them ; and the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for directions, and were then disposed to any undertaking. On the other side, they who had, with the greatest courage and alacrity, opposed all their seditious practices, between grief and anger were confounded with the consideration of what had been done, and what was like to follow." ii. 159.

CHAP. Westminster in triumph. The sheriffs of London,
IX. attended by an immense assemblage of armed sea-
CHARLES men, and by select companies of the trained bands,
I.

escorted them, while others marched on either side of the river, and possessing themselves of the approaches to the house, guaranteed the safety of its members. The Thames was covered with boats; and thousands of citizens, lining the banks of the river, gave joyful utterance to their bursting feelings. The public mind was now excited to the highest conceivable pitch of enthusiasm. Parliament was perfectly omnipotent in the City; and from many counties and provincial towns petitions were received, protesting in indignant terms against the King's invasion of the Commons' privileges, and offering to the representatives a cordial and vigorous support. The misguided monarch soon felt that he had involved himself in inextricable difficulties, and was ultimately reduced to the mortifying necessity of announcing to the two houses that he abandoned the prosecution.^c A mighty change in the relative position of the two parties was effected by this rash and culpable procedure. The hope of accommodation was utterly extinguished, and both Charles and the parliamentary leaders began to contemplate the probability of what subsequently occurred. Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford appeared in arms against the Parliament at Kingston-on-Thames, on which the latter issued an order to the Sheriffs of counties, commanding them to raise the trained bands, and to suppress all unlawful assemblies. Provision was also made for the safety

Jan. 12.

^c Rushworth, iii. 473—494. —1030. Nugent's Hampden, ii. Nalson, ii. 810—855. Clarendon, ii. 124—146. Parl. Hist. ii. 1005

of Portsmouth and Hull, and guards were placed about the Tower, to prevent ammunition from being carried thence without the King's authority signified by both houses of parliament.^d

CHAP.
IX.CHARLES
I.

Having provided by these prompt measures for the immediate danger which threatened them, the Commons proceeded to the consideration of two important bills, by which they hoped to break down the strength of the Court party in the Upper House, and to secure the command of the military forces of the kingdom. The first of these bills respected the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops. It had been forwarded to the Lords some months before, but, being substantially the same as the one they had rejected, it was read a first time only, and then laid aside.

Bishops
ejected from
Parliament.

The Commons, however, taking advantage of the altered condition and temper of the Upper House after the impeachment of the bishops, sent a message to their lordships, reminding them of the bill which had been delivered at their bar, and desiring that it might be forwarded without delay. The opportunity was propitious, and the bill was accordingly read a third time, and passed by a large majority. The king hesitated for some time before giving his assent. It was evidently a vital question, and Charles regarded it as such. He was naturally reluctant to lose the support which his government had derived from the bishops in the Upper House, and might probably conclude that their absence would be detrimental to the religious interests of the nation. But the influence of the queen ultimately prevailed, and the bill was passed by com-

Oct. 23.

^d Rushworth, iii. 495, 496.

CHAP. mission.^e The change which it wrought was analogous to that effected by the suppression of the CHARLES monasteries under Henry. It was just in principle, and must have been beneficial in operation. By divesting the ministers of religion of temporal dignity and senatorial rank, it deprived them only of that which had been their weakness and the source of their corruption; while it left them to pursue, with undistracted minds, the more appropriate duties of their vocation. On the return of the Stuarts, the bishops were reinstated in their former dignities, but the external splendour which the hierarchy thus obtained, has been more than counterbalanced by the political subserviency and moral degradation of the clergy.

Rupture
between the
king and
parliament.

Affairs now hastened to a rupture. Parliament demanded the power of the militia for two years, which the king refused. An angry correspondence consequently took place, the former party alleging the existence of plots to undermine and destroy all they had accomplished; and the latter charging a malignant party in the House with a settled determination to deprive the Crown of its constitutional authority. In the meantime the queen pro-

^e Parl. Hist. ii. 916, 1077, 1088. Clarendon ii. 246—253. Godwin, i. 71. Henrietta was not likely to sympathize with the bishops of a Protestant Church. She rather rejoiced in their humiliation than regretted the loss of their services to the King. Clarendon represents Sir John Colepepper to have been the instrument of awakening her fears on this occasion. She was about to proceed to Holland, and it was suggested to her that she would not be permitted to

leave the kingdom unless her influence was employed to induce the king to pass the bill concerning the bishops. "The queen," says Clarendon, "was so terrified with the apprehension of her being hindered from pursuing her purpose, that she gave not over her importunity with the king till she had prevailed with him." Life, i. 115. Colepepper, it should be remembered, was one of the three confidential advisers of the king.

ceeded to Holland with the Crown jewels, which she employed in raising arms and ammunition for her husband, who retired northwards, and assumed a style in his communications with the parliament, which bespoke a fixed determination to yield no further to their demands. The parliamentary leaders were equally decided in their measures. Arrangements were made for putting the militia of several counties under the command of persons on whom they could rely, and the Earl of Warwick was appointed Admiral of the Fleet. The appearance of the king before Hull, and the refusal of Sir John Hotham, the governor, to admit him into the town, brought things to a crisis, and rendered an appeal to arms inevitable. The nation ranged itself into two opposite and hostile parties. Every town, and almost every village, became the scene of civil strife. Friendships were dissolved, family ties were broken, and the calm occupations of domestic life gave place to the bustle of military preparation, and the fierce struggles of party war.

The conduct of parliament, in pressing its demands to such an extent as necessitated an appeal to arms, has been severely censured, not only by the advocates of the king, but by some modern writers of distinguished name and of unimpeachable integrity. Yet it is difficult to see how they could have avoided the evil, and, at the same time, have maintained the liberties of the nation. The inveterate duplicity of the king, and his rooted aversion from parliaments, precluded the possibility of any reliance being placed on his most solemn and oft-repeated promises. It was well known that he had yielded from necessity, and with the full

*Vindication
of the latter.*

April 23,
1642.

CHAP. intention of availing himself of this plea whenever circumstances should again permit him to CHARLES play the tyrant.^f Indubitable evidence of his I.

readiness to employ any agency—however unconstitutional or violent,—by which he might crush his opponents and reinstate himself in power, had already been afforded in the army plot, the Scotch *Incident*, and the attempted arrest of the popular leaders. The character of the king would therefore seem to have necessitated a violation of the theory and forms of the constitution, in order to the attainment of its great end; and to have left no safe medium between an acquiescence in his tyranny, and the transference of all real authority from himself to the parliament. The question which finally separated the king from the popular party was the militia, the command of which the latter deemed necessary to their safety and the cause of good government. Here the two parties took their stand;—the one maintaining that laws, however wisely framed, or admirably adapted to protect public freedom, were a perfect nullity when opposed by a despotic prince, surrounded by evil counsellors, and backed by a military force;—and the other contending that the prince would be a cipher, and his authority contemptible, if he were not the deposi-

^f “The example of the French King,” says Mrs. Hutchinson, “was propounded to him, and he thought himself no monarch, so long as his will was confined to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreign force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting anything to the people,

which he resolved should not oblige him longer than it served his turn; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, justice or generosity, in him; he was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute, an uncontrollable sovereign, that he was resolved either to be such a king or none.” Memoirs, i. 129.

tary of power and the executive of the state. In CHAP. IX.
such a condition of society as then existed, an appeal —————
must be made to the spirit rather than the letter —————
of the constitution, nor will it be easy to justify the
expulsion of the son of Charles from the English
throne, if the appeal to arms, which the patriots of
1642 made, be condemned. The tyranny of the
father was vastly more oppressive than that of the
son, while his personal character was a hundredfold
more adapted to accomplish his tyrannical designs.
Charles was utterly unfitted for the duties of a
limited monarchy, and it therefore devolved on the
conservators of liberty either to remove him from
the throne, or to deprive him of the power which he
had systematically abused. They chose the latter,
but he indignantly rejected the arrangement, and
made his appeal to the hereditary loyalty of his
people.

CHARLES
I.

It is not, however, to be supposed that the parliament was immaculate in all their proceedings prior to the civil war. At their first assembling they were resolute, but calm. They felt that the eye and the hope of the nation were fixed upon them, and they determined to be faithful to their high trust. But as they proceeded, a great variety of passions were brought into play, which new moulded their character, and gave a direction and amplitude to their views, of which they had not originally dreamed. Even Hampden, one of the most circumspect and self-possessed of men, was greatly changed by the course of events. So long as he retained the hope of Charles being moulded into the form of a constitutional monarch he was mild in his demeanour, and though firm, was yet

CHAP. IX. temperate in his views. But when the king had invaded the sanctuary of English freedom, and brought an armed throng to arrest its defenders; he felt that the time for moderation was past,—that the hope of accommodation was gone,—and that nothing was now to be thought of but the withdrawal from such hands of the power of future mischief. “He was much altered,” says Clarendon, from whose partial colourings truth occasionally gleams forth, “his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before.”^g The conduct of parliament became in consequence less calm and dignified. It yielded to the gusts of passion; and the Lower House especially was often betrayed into acts of oppression, and assumed towards the other branches of the legislature a tone of insulting dictatorship. This state of things led to a secession, from the popular cause, of some of the more moderate members, which, by strengthening the hands and raising the credit of the king’s party, protracted the struggle and rendered its issue, at some periods, uncertain. The fears of the more cautious and observant men were transferred from the Crown to the Commons; and they gathered themselves in consequence around the prerogative, from an honest solicitude to protect the liberties of the nation, as well as to preserve the rights of the throne. “No one,” says Mr. Hallam, whose honourable solicitude to avoid a too favourable judgment on the country party, seems occasionally to incline him to an opposite extreme, “who has given any time to the study of that history, will deny that among those who fought in opposite bat-

^g Hist. of Rebellion, iv. 94.

talions at Edgehill and Newbury, or voted in the CHAP. IX. opposite parliaments of Westminster and Oxford, —
CHARLES I.
 there were many who thought much alike on general theories of prerogative and privilege, divided only perhaps by some casual prejudices, which had led these to look with greater distrust on courtly insidiousness, and those with greater indignation at popular violence. We cannot believe that Falkland and Colepepper differed greatly in their constitutional principles from Whitelock and Pierpoint, or that Hertford and Southampton were less friends to a limited monarchy than Essex and Northumberland.”^b

Richard Baxter, who was far from approving all the acts of the parliament, and who paid so dearly for his infatuated loyalty towards the son of Charles, gives the following opinion on the merits of the two parties. “For my own part,” says the honest but prejudiced presbyterian, “I freely confess that I was not judicious enough in politics and law to decide this controversy, which so many lawyers and wise men differed in. And I freely confess, that being astonished at the *Irish* massacre, and persuaded fully both of the parliament’s good endeavours for reformation, and of their *real danger*, my judgment of the *main cause* much swayed my judgment in the matter of the wars; and the argument *à fine, et à natura, et necessitate*, which common wits are capable of discerning, did

Baxter's
judgment.

^b Const. Hist. ii. 198. These remarks are perfectly just in reference to a *select few* of the king’s supporters. But the great mass of his party were utterly regardless of, or avowedly hostile to, the

subject’s rights. They were the blind instruments of a tyranny which wanted only power to have swept away the bulwark of constitutional freedom.

CHIAP. IX. too far incline my judgment in the cause of the war,
CHARLES before I understood the arguments from our par-

I. ticular laws. And the consideration of the quality of the *parties*, that sided for each cause in the counties, did greatly work with me, and more than it should have done. I verily thought that if that which a judge in court saith sententially is law, must go for law to the subject, as to the decision of that cause, though the king send his broad seal against it; then that which the parliament saith *is law*, is law to the subjects (about the dangers of the Commonwealth), whatever it be in itself; and that if the king's broad seal cannot prevail against the judge, must less against *their* judgment.

“ I make no doubt but both parties were to blame, and I will not be he that shall justify either of them. I doubt not but the headiness and rashness of the younger, unexperienced sort of religious people, made many parliament men and ministers overgo themselves, to keep pace with those Hotspurs. No doubt but much indiscretion appeared, and worse than indiscretion, in the tumultuous petitioners, and much sin was committed in the dishonouring of the king and provocation of him, and in the uncivil language against the bishops and liturgy of the church. But these things came principally from the sectarian separating spirit, which blew the coals amongst foolish apprentices. And as the sectaries increased, so did this insolence increase. . . . One or two in the House, and five or six ministers that came from Holland, and a few that were scattered in the City, which were the Brownists' relicts, did drive on others according to their own dividing principles, and sowed the seeds which afterward

spread over all the land, though then there were CHAP. IX.
very few of them in the counties, even next to none. ——————
As Bishop Hall speaks against the justifying of the
ministers, or City. I believe many unjustifiable
things were done; but I think that a few men
among them all were the doers or instigators of it.¹
But then I thought that whosoever was faulty, the
people's liberties and safety could not be *forfeited*.
And I thought that all the subjects were not guilty
of all the faults of king or parliament when they
defended them: yea, that if both their causes had
been bad, as against each other, yet that the *sub-*
jects should adhere to that party which most secured
the welfare of the nation, and might defend the land
under their conduct, without owning all their cause.
And herein I confess I was then so zealous, that I
thought it a great sin for men who were able to
defend their country to be neuters. And I have
been tempted since to think that I was a more com-
petent judge upon the place, when all things were
before our eyes, than I am in the review of those

CHARLES
I.

¹ It is well remarked by Mr. Orme, on this passage, as very singular "that Baxter should attribute so much evil to the dissenting brethren of the Westminster assembly, and the sectaries, of whom they were the reputed leaders. The civil wars," adds Mr. Orme, "produced or occasioned the sects, not the sects the wars. The long parliament had taken some of its strongest measures before the five independent ministers returned to England from Holland. A good while must have elapsed after their return before their influence could ex-

tend far; and without violent and unreasonable opposition to their fair and moderate request for a toleration, their influence at no time would have been great. Compared with many of their opponents, both their language and their temper were moderate; and it might be easy to show that the exaggerated lamentations and insulting abuse of their adversaries were calculated to produce, and actually did produce, a worse effect on the country than any thing done by the Independents either in or out of parliament." Life of Baxter, 37.

CHAP. IX. days and actions so many years after, when distance
 CHARLES I. disadvantageth the apprehension.”^k

The king's party.

The king erected his standard at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, 1642.^l The number of his attendants, at first inconsiderable, was gradually increased, as men were compelled to take a decided part in the struggle. A large majority of the nobility, and many of the most wealthy landed gentry, espoused his cause, some in hope of sharing the rewards he was expected to distribute amongst his followers, others through an apprehension of the levelling tendency of the spirit which was abroad, and a few from a sincere regard to the constitutional rights of the Crown. Many of the members of both houses repaired to the king; while a few, who were friendly to his designs, remained at Westminster, to embarrass the counsels and retard the measures of his opponents.^m The high church party naturally clung to his standard, and the whole body of the Catholics proffered him their zealous support.

The parliamentarians.

On the other hand the cause of the parliamentarians was espoused by a few of the aristocracy, by almost the entire body of the middling gentry, and by the better informed and most influential yeomen. But

^k Sylvester's Baxter, 39.

^l Clarendon, iii. 190.

^m Every impartial mind must regret the violent methods adopted by the majority in the Commons' house, to overawe and intimidate the minority. Yet it is but an act of justice to remark, that when parties were formed, and men's opinions were known, more latitude of speech was allowed. The Commons acted with a magnanimous forbearance towards

those members of the king's party who retained their seats after the breaking out of the civil war. “It cannot be denied,” says Clarendon, “but some very honest and entire men staid still there, and opposed all their unjustifiable proceedings with great courage and much liberty of speech; which was more frankly permitted to them than had been before, when the number of the dissenters was greater.” iii. 89.

its chief strength consisted in the zealous co-operation of London and the other principal cities of the empire. The spirit of English liberty had been awakened and nourished by the vigour of commercial enterprize, and the wealth which had followed in its train. Affluent citizens contended with the nobles of the land without any feeling of inferiority, and now demanded to share the management of affairs in which they possessed a common interest. The puritan party naturally sympathised with the parliament, and gave in their adhesion to its cause. Their numbers were considerable; but the spirit and energy which they brought to the contest were a hundredfold more valuable.ⁿ In

ⁿ “Though it must be confessed,” remarks Baxter, “that the public safety and liberty wrought very much with most, especially with the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the parliament, yet was it principally the differences about religious matters that filled up the parliament’s armies, and put the resolution and valour into their soldiers, which carried them on in another manner than mercenary soldiers are carried on. Not that the matter of bishops or no bishops was the main thing (for thousands that wished for good bishops were on the parliament’s side), though many called it *Bellum Episcopale* (and with the Scots, that was the greater part of controversy). But the generality of the people through the land (I say not all, or every one), who were then called puritans, precisians, religious persons, that used to talk of God, and heaven, and scripture, and holiness, and to follow sermons, and read books of devotion, and pray in their families, and spend the Lord’s day in re-

ligious exercises, and plead for mortification, and serious devotion, and strict obedience to God, and speak against swearing, cursing, drunkenness, profaneness, &c. I say the main body of this sort of men, both preachers and people, adhered to the parliament. And on the other side, the gentry that were not so precise and strict against an oath, or gaming, or plays, or drinking, nor troubled themselves so much about the matters of God and the world to come, and the ministers and people that were for the king’s book, for dancing and recreation on the Lord’s days, and those that made not so great a matter of every sin, but went to church and heard common prayer, and were glad to hear a sermon which lashed the puritans, and which ordinarily spoke against this strictness and preciseness in religion, and this strict observation of the Lord’s day, and following sermons, and praying extempore, and talking so much of Scripture and the matters of salvation, and those that hated and derided them that take these

CHARLES
I.

CHAP. IX. common with the rest of their countrymen, they
CHARLES I. had felt the general oppressions of the government
of Charles. But they had wrongs of their own
to complain of, by the patient endurance of
which, all the sterner and more invincible features
of their character had been brought to maturity.
They had long been sighing for the deliverance of
Israel, and now rejoiced in the gathering of armies,
the tumult of camps, and the strife of battle, as the
signs of its approach. Others contended under the
influence of martial courage, and for the purposes
of human ambition; but the puritan fought for God
and religion, and if he fell, his dying moments were
cheered by the hope of immortal blessedness. He
came forth from communion with God "like a giant
refreshed with wine," and laughed to scorn the trap-
pings of royalty and the martial bearing of the
cavalier. The precision of his manners, and the
austerity of his life, rendered him an object of deri-
sion in the camp of the royalists; but the prowess of
his arm was felt in the day of battle, and the gay
troops of Charles fled discomfited before him. For
a time the enthusiasm of the Puritans was repressed
by the timid policy and false prudence of their
leaders. But when Essex and Manchester were
displaced, and men were at their head, who knew
their temper and were not afraid to employ it, they
swept the kingdom like the breath of heaven, and
left not a solitary fort to dispute the supremacy of
parliament.

courses, the main body of these
were against the parliament. Not
but that some such for money, or
a landlord's pleasure, served them;
as some few of the stricter sort

were against them, or not for them
(being neuters): but I speak of
the notable division through the
land." Sylvester's Baxter, 31.

The more moderate puritans abstained at first CHAP. IX.
from entering the army of the parliament. They ^{CHARLE}
approved its general policy, but would gladly have I.
remained at home, commanding its interests to the
God whom they served. But the violence of their
enemies left them no alternative. When the civil
war commenced, Baxter tells us “ those called puri-
tans were mostly for that side to which they saw the
bishops and their neighbours’ enemies. And they
were for their punishment the more, because it
seemed desirable to reform the bishops, and restore
the liberty of those whom they prosecuted for the
manner of their serving God. Yet they desired,
wherever I was, to have lived peaceably at home ;
but the drunkards and rabble that formerly hated
them, when they saw the war beginning, grew en-
raged : for if a man did but pray and sing a psalm
in his house, they would cry ‘ Down with the
Roundheads’ (a word then new made for them),
and put them in fear of sudden violence. After-
wards they brought the king’s soldiers to plunder
them of their goods, which made them fain to run
into holes to hide their persons ; and when their
goods were gone, and their lives in continual danger,
they were forced to fly for food and shelter. To go
among those that hated them they durst not, when
they could not dwell among such at home. And
thus thousands ran into the parliament’s garrisons,
and having nothing there to live upon, became
soldiers.”^o

^o True Hist. of Councils Enlarged, 93.

CHARLES I. The leaders of the constitutional party did not rush thoughtlessly into the civil war. They felt the deep solemnity of the scene in which they were acting so prominent a part, and desired to mould the public mind to that sobriety and sense of religion which befitted the occasion. For this purpose an ordinance was issued, declaring that “Whereas public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage plays with seasons of humiliation, it is therefore ordained, That while these sad causes and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage plays shall cease and be forborne. Instead of which are recommended to the people the profitable and seasonable considerations of repentance, reconciliation, and peace with God, which probably may produce outward peace and prosperity, and bring again times of joy and gladness to these nations.”^p This ordinance has been made the subject of much pointless wit and profane banter. It has been represented as the offspring of narrow-

^p Rushworth, iv. 1. The *times of humiliation* referred to in this ordinance were the stated fasts, appointed by the king, Jan. 8, 1642, at the request of parliament. They were observed on the last Wednesday of each month, and were ordered to be continued so long as the troubles of Ireland lasted. Soon after the breaking out of the civil war the two houses published an ordinance for the more strict observance of this solemnity, commanding all ministers earnestly to persuade and inculcate upon their people “this public acknowledgment and deep humiliation for all national and crying sins,” and to enforce “the

necessity for a personal and national reformation.” The king complained of the freedom with which the preachers in the interest of the parliament reflected on his government and supporters, and therefore issued a proclamation, Oct. 5, 1643, commanding what he terms “this hypocritical fast to the dishonour of God, and the slander of our religion,” to be discontinued, and directing the second Friday in each month to be observed in its stead. But the royal cause was only slightly benefitted by the prayers of its supporters. Nalson, ii. 777. Rushworth, iii. 494; iv. 141, 364. Neal, ii. 505.

Stage plays
and other
amusements
prohibited.

Sept. 2.

mindedness and illiteracy ; a proclamation of war CHAP. IX. on the part of the puritans against all the softer and more attractive embellishments of life. A slight attention, however, to the circumstances of the parliament, and the objects which it contemplated, will not only vindicate the measure, but prove its deep sagacity. "Nothing perhaps," remarks Mr. Godwin, "can more fully prove the profoundness of the views of these leaders than the measures adopted by them on this very subject."^q It was their policy to invigorate and nerve the public mind; to bring it up to a loftier elevation than was ordinarily attained; and to associate with all its resolves the undivided purpose, and concentrated energy, which spring from the conviction of God's presence and approval. For such a purpose the ordinance in question was admirably fitted; and its publication at the commencement of the civil war, furnished an encouraging proof of the profound sagacity and religious sentiments of the parliamentary leaders.

The success of the parliamentary armies was not, at first, such as had been expected. The troops were undisciplined, and the generals were not disposed to bring the conflict to an early and decisive issue. Essex, and the other noblemen who were intrusted with important military offices, dreaded the complete success of their own party almost as much as the triumph of the king. They wished to reduce him to terms, but not to place him at the mercy of his subjects,—they would have forced him to the concessions which were necessary for the preservation of the national liberties, but shrank

Early pros-
perity of the
king's cause.

^q Godwin, i. 77.

CHAP. IX. from such a vigorous prosecution of the war as
CHARLES I. would have allowed the parliament to dictate the terms of peace. Their proceedings were in consequence irresolute, and wanting in the promptitude and energy which are essential to military success. Some of them deserted their posts, and others, who had been intrusted with important commands, betrayed the confidence of parliament by surrendering their garrisons to the king.

Negotiations
of parliament
with the
Scotch.

This state of things awakened serious apprehensions among the patriots, and compelled them to solicit the aid of the Scotch. They took this step with reluctance, and it became subsequently the source of manifold evils. The Scotch were bigotedly devoted to the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government. It had been erected on the ruins of popery by Knox—the most fearless and masculine of modern reformers—and had been endeared to the nation by the fearful struggle which they had made on its behalf. What James had contemplated, Charles commissioned Laud to achieve;—and the disciples of presbytery groaned beneath his heartless policy. The sufferings inflicted in the cause of episcopacy naturally engendered an unconquerable aversion from it. The people loathed it as a disguised and virulent form of popery, and at length wrested from the reluctant hand of Charles the recognition of their beloved and more simple polity. Unhappily, however, the presbyterians of Scotland had not learned wisdom from their sufferings. Their passions were inflamed without their views being rectified; and they came forth from the school of adversity as narrow-minded and intolerant as any of the bishops. Hence arose a great difficulty in

the negotiations of the parliament with their CHAP. IX.
brethren in Scotland.

The latter insisted on the ecclesiastical government of England being conformed to their own platform, and required the enforcement of penal laws against all dissenters. The general assembly, in a communication to the English parliament, after referring to the request of the Scotch commissioners in the late treaty for peace, "That in all his Majesty's dominions there might be one confession of faith; one directory of worship; one public catechism; and one form of church government;" and that "the names of heresies, and sects, puritans, conformists, separatists, anabaptists, &c., which do rend asunder the bowels both of kirk and kingdom," might be suppressed, proceed to declare that they are encouraged to renew the proposition made by the forenamed commissioners, for beginning the work of reformation at the uniformity of kirk government; "for what hope," say they, "can there be of unity in religion, of one confession of faith, one form of worship, and one catechism, till there be first one form of ecclesiastical government: yea, what hope can the kingdom and kirk of Scotland have of a firm and durable peace, till prelacy, which hath been the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, and from which no better fruit can be expected, than such sour grapes as this day set on edge the kingdom of England. The prelatical hierarchy being put out of the way, the work will be easy, without forcing any conscience, to settle in England,

CHARLES
I.

Intolerant
demands of
the presby-
terians.

August 3,
1642.

CHAP. IX. the government of the reformed kirks of assemblies.”^r

CHARLES

I.

Cautious
procedure of
the English
patriots.

The popular leaders were disinclined to the proposals of their northern neighbours, and therefore abstained, for a time, from soliciting their aid.^s They were too sagacious and far-sighted readily to substitute another tyranny in the place of that which they had overthrown. Having freed their neck from the yoke of a proud and boastful prelacy, they were cautious in their advances to a party whose temper was equally arrogant, and their policy as despotic, as the bishops.

Many of the English members would have acceded without scruple to the Scotch propositions, but the master-spirits of the day, who ruled the stormy

^r Rushworth, iv. 387—390.

^s Baillie frequently complains of the neglect with which the parliament treated his country. Under date of July 26, 1643, he says, “But what shall we say to the main errand of our meeting? We are in great perplexity. We certainly expected that the parliament of England, understanding perfectly of the calling of our estates so long before, and that the custom of our nation was not to make stay at our meetings, that they without fail would have had commissioners from both houses, waiting on, at, or before, or at least at the day of our meeting, the 22nd of June. Yet all the fourteen days thereafter I was in town there was no word of them. All did much admire that not so much as one excuse was made of this so great neglect.” i. 371. In a postscript to this letter he mentions that Mr. Corbet and Squire Meldrem had been dispatched to London, and adds, “The jealousy

the English have of our nation, much beside all reason, is not well taken. The report of Fairfax’s defeat has been a spur at last to that parliament, much, as is thought, against the stomachs of many, to send message on message to us of their commissioners’ dispatch, my Lord Gray of Wark, from the Lords, and two from the Commons. They are expected daily.” Ibid. 372. Again, Sept. 22, he writes, “For the present the parliament side is running down the brae. They would never in earnest call for help till they were irrecoverable; now, when all is desperate, they cry aloud for help: and how willing we are to redeem them with our lives, you shall hear.” Ibid. 374. Again, Nov. 17th, “We know the best of the English have very ill will to employ our aid, and the smallest hopes they get of subsisting by themselves, makes them less fond of us.” Ibid. 394.

elements, interposed to check their rashness, and to prevent its disastrous consequences. It was necessary, however, to cultivate the friendship of the Scotch, and to keep the road open to a closer confederacy, in the event of the king's success rendering their aid necessary. The language of parliament, in replying to the General Assembly, was therefore respectful, and full of the warmest expressions of gratitude. Difficulties were suggested, and occasions for delay interposed, while the common enemy was denounced in terms as strong and emphatic as the warmest partisan of presbytery could desire. "We have entered into a serious consideration," said the parliament, "what good we have received from this government of bishops; and we are so far from apprehending any satisfaction herein, that we plainly perceive it a cause of many other calamities, dangers, and intolerable burdens; being a dishonour to God, by arrogating to themselves a preeminence and power which he hath not given them; by profaning the purity of his ordinances with the mixture of their own injunctions; by withholding the frequent and powerful preaching of the gospel; by corrupting the ministry with pride, ambition, covetousness, idleness, and luxury, &c. . . . Upon all which, and many other reasons, we do declare, That this government by archbishops, bishops, &c. is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom; and that we are resolved that the same shall be taken away. And according to our former declaration of the 7th of February, Our purpose is to consult with

CHAP.
IX.CHARLES
I.

CHAP. IX.
CHARLES 1.
godly and learned divines, that we may not only remove this, but settle such a government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, most apt to procure and conserve the peace of the church at home, and happy union with the church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad." ^t

^t Rushworth, iv. 390—392. Parl. Hist. ii. 1465.

CHAPTER X.

Westminster Assembly—The policy of Parliament in convening it—Clarendon's description of it—The Bishop of Ossory's—Faults of the Assembly—Baxter's vindication—Parties composing it—The Presbyterians—The Independents—The Erastians—Commissioners sent into Scotland—The solemn League and Covenant—Its intolerant Character—Taken by the Commons—Generally enforced.

THE parliament, in conformity with the intimation it had given to the Scotch presbyterians, now proceeded to convene “an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the parliament, for the settling of the government and Liturgy of the Church of England.”^a For this purpose an ordinance was issued, setting forth that “Whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the

CHAP.
X.

CHARLES
I.

Westminster
Assembly.

^a The parliament did not take this step till the royal assent had been frequently refused to a bill passed by both houses, which provided “That a synod of divines should be chosen and established, for the good and right settlement of religion, with a fit government for the church of England.” The king's absence from parliament, and his rejection of this measure,

led to the resolution “That an ordinance of parliament, where the king is so absent and refusing, is by the laws of the land of as good authority to bind the people, for the time present, as an act of parliament itself can be.” Upon this resolution the ordinance was based which convened the Westminster Assembly. May's Hist. of Long Parl. 187.

June 12.
1643.

CHAP. X. Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, that
CHARLES is evil, and justly oppressive and burdensome to the

I. kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom; and that therefore they are resolved that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the church as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad; and for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit and necessary to call an assembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines, to consult and advise of such matters and things as shall be proposed unto them by both, or either of the houses of parliament, and to give their advice and counsel therein, when, and as often as they shall be thereunto required."

The parliament was careful to preserve an entire controul over the deliberations of this Assembly. No matters were to be taken into consideration but at the suggestion of one or both of the two houses, and the conclusions arrived at were to be laid before them for their approval. No publication of the Assembly's proceedings was permitted without the consent of the legislature; and in case of any difference of opinion occurring, the same was to be notified to parliament, and its further advice obtained. "Provided always," says the ordinance, with an evident solicitude to guard against the dangers which might

possibly arise from such a convention, “that this ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not give unto the persons aforesaid, or any of them, nor shall they in the assembly assume to exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority, ecclesiastical whatsoever, or any other power, than is herein particularly expressed.”^b

The members of this assembly, both lay and clerical, were nominated by parliament, which named Dr. Twisse prolocutor, and reserved to itself the appointment of a substitute in the event of his illness.^c Several of the most learned and estimable of the episcopal clergy were summoned; but declined to attend on account of the king’s proclamation, June 22. which prohibited the meeting, and threatened to proceed against its members.

This celebrated Assembly commenced its sittings on the 1st of July, in the presence of the two houses of parliament, when a sermon was preached by Dr. Twisse, from John xiv. 18, “I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you.” Five days afterwards several regulations for their future conduct were adopted by the members, and the following protestation was ordered to be taken by every individual on his admission: “I do seriously and solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this assembly, whereof I am member, I will not maintain any thing in matters of doctrine but what I think in my conscience to be truth; or in point of discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce

^b Rushworth, iv. 337—339.

^c Lightfoot’s Journal of the

Assembly of Divines, Works, xiii.

4.

CHAP. X. most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of his church.”^d

CHARLES I. The policy of the parliamentary leaders in summoning the Westminster Assembly was probably somewhat different from that which they avowed. Their hostility to the ecclesiastical principles and intolerant spirit of the now dominant presbyterians was sufficiently obvious, and had awakened the apprehensions and fired the zeal of the most ardent members of that sect. It is not therefore to be supposed that the men who were committed to the cause of religious freedom ;—men whose great object it was to emancipate faith from the dominion of authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, could have anticipated much benefit from the deliberations of an assembly constituted of such materials. Their suspicions are distinctly traceable in the restraints under which the Assembly was placed, and in the very subordinate and dependent part which it was permitted to act. But it was probably hoped that the attention of the clergy would thus be diverted from the course of political events; and their zeal be exhausted by the interminable strifes which their discussions could not fail to engender. The time was not yet arrived when the most enlightened of the parliamentary leaders could hope to secure the adoption of a liberal and tolerant system of church government; and it was therefore their policy,—a

The policy of
the parlia-
ment in
convening it.

^d Ten peers and twenty commoners, among whom were several of the most distinguished popular leaders, were nominated in the parliamentary ordinance.

Their names, together with those of the clergy, may be seen in Rushworth and in Neal, Hist. iii. 46—48.

policy justifiable alike on the score of principle and of expediency,—to prevent any specific and defined scheme from being submitted to the legislature. CHARLES X.
I.

They were too sagacious not to perceive the change which the public mind was rapidly undergoing; and might therefore reasonably hope that, if a little further delay was obtained, they would be in circumstances to resist the encroachments of the advocates of uniformity, and to establish the religious freedom of their countrymen on a firm and enduring basis. The Assembly was consequently cheated with the semblance of power without a particle of its reality. Its members were led to suppose that the affairs of the church were in their hands, and might be moulded at their pleasure; while in fact they were only amused and kept from mischief, by the more sagacious and statesman-like intellects which watched over their proceedings. “In general,” says Mr. Orme, “when there appeared an approach towards the completion of their ecclesiastical code, new difficulties or questions were always proposed to them, which occasioned protracted debates and increasing difficulties.”^e

The descriptions of this celebrated convocation, which have been given by royalist writers, are deeply tinged with rancorous and indiscriminating hostility. Lord Clarendon, in his usual style of unscrupulous detraction, affirms that “of the whole number they were not above twenty who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the church of England; many of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very

Clarendon's
description
of it.

CHAP. X. mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to CHARLES the church of England.”^f

I.
Bishop of Ossory's.

The bishop of Ossory, in a pamphlet published in 1643, indulges in a more figurative and impassioned style of vituperation. “ You may judge of them,” he says, “ by their compeers, Goodwin, Burroughs, Arrowsmith, and the rest of their *ignorant factious and schismatical ministers*, that, together with those intruding *mechanics* (who, without any calling from God or man, do step from their butcher’s board, or horse’s stable, into the preacher’s pulpit), are the bellows which blow up this fire, that threatened the destruction of our land; like Sheba’s trumpet to summon the people into rebellion; and like the red dragon in the *Revelations*, which gave them all his poison, and made them eloquent to disgorge their malice, and cast forth floods of slander after those that keep loyalty to their sovereign, belch forth their unsavory reproaches against those that discovered their affected ignorance and seditious wickedness in defence of truth.”^g This method of wholesale defamation became popular on the restoration of the Stuarts, and the fashion has been perpetuated to a very recent day. The frenzied state of the public mind on the return of monarchy, prevented a calm and discriminating investigation of the character and merits of this assembly. The profane witling, the bigoted ecclesiastic, and the unprincipled courtier, conspired to asperse the memory of men who were regarded as the representatives of a proscribed and hated sect. Modern writers have

^f Hist. of Rebellion, ii. 424.

^g Grey’s Exam. of Neal, ii. 91.

retailed the slanders of their predecessors ; each one endeavouring to give a point and keenness to his strictures, in proportion to the growing distaste and weariness of the public mind.

CHAP.
X.CHARLES
I.

Nor is it easy to defend the Assembly from some of the charges preferred against it. Many of its members were amongst the most intolerant of mankind ; while its discussions frequently displayed a spirit as relentlessly hostile to religious freedom as the most bigoted *Convocation* had evinced. If any thing had been wanting to prove the utter hopelessness of such conventions answering any beneficial purpose, it was signally displayed on this occasion. For personal integrity, ministerial diligence, and general scholarship, the Westminster Assembly has never been surpassed by any ecclesiastical assemblage ; and yet, in their associated capacity, the divines composing it were with difficulty prevented from inflicting a deep and irreparable injury on the religious interests of the country. Their ecclesiastical views were distorted by the false theories prevalent in their day. Trained within the precincts of a state church, they retained its spirit, and acted out its maxim, even after they had learned to despise its authority and to impugn its orders.

Faults of the
assembly.

Richard Baxter had ample opportunities of acquainting himself with the character and proceedings of this assembly, and the judgment he has recorded, while it evidences his dissent from some of the measures of his brethren, is eminently to their honour. "This synod," he says, "was not a convocation according to the diocesan way of government, nor was it called by the votes of the ministers according to the presbyterian way ; but the parlia-

Baxter's
vindication
of it.

CHAP. ment, not intending to call an assembly which
X. should pretend a divine right to make obliging
CHARLES laws, or canons, to bind their brethren, but an
I. ecclesiastical council, to be advisers to themselves,
did think that they best knew who were the fittest
to give them advice, and therefore chose them all
themselves. Two were to be chosen out of each
county; but some few counties (I know not upon
what reason) had but one; I suppose it was long
of the parliament men of those counties. And
because they would seem impartial, and have each
party to have liberty to speak, they over and above
the number chose many episcopal divines, even the
learnedest of them in the land, as Archbishop Usher,
Primate of Ireland, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond,
Dr. Wincop, Bishop Westford, Bishop Prideaux,
and many more. But they would not come, because
it was not a legal convocation, and because the king
declared himself against it; Dr. Dan Featley, and
very few more of that party, came: (but at last he
was charged with sending intelligence to the king's
quarters at Oxford of what was done in the synod
and parliament, and was imprisoned; which much
reflected on the parliament, because whatever his
fact were, he was so learned a man, as was sufficient
to dishonour those he suffered by). The prolocutor,
or moderator, was Dr. William Twisse (a man very
famous for his scholastic wit and writings in a very
smooth triumphant style); the divines there congregated
were men of eminent learning and godliness,
and ministerial abilities and fidelity; and being not
worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more
freely speak that truth which I know, even in the
face of malice and envy, that, as far as I am able to

judge by the information of all history of that kind, CHAP.
X.
and by any other evidences left us, the Christian CHARLES
I.
world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines (taking one thing with another) than this synod and the synod of Dort were.

“ For my own part, as highly as I honour the men, I am not of their mind in every point of the government which they would have set up; and some words in their catechism I could wish had been more clear; and above all, I could wish that the parliament, and their more skilful hand, had done more than was done to heal our breaches, and had hit upon the right way either to unite with the Episcopal and Independents (which was possible, as distant as they are), or at least had pitched on the terms that are fit for universal concord, and left all to come in upon those terms that would. But for all this dissent, I must testify my love and honour to the persons of such great sincerity, and eminent ministerial sufficiency, as were Gataker, Vines, Burgess, White, and the greater part of that assembly.”^h

The unimpeachable integrity and quick-sightedness of Baxter give a value to his testimony, which infinitely outweigh the vituperations of Clarendon and other royalist writers. His catholicity of spirit led him to deplore many of the assembly’s proceedings; but his knowledge of the character and views of its members satisfied him of their integrity, and induced him to volunteer their defence when their enemies were in possession of the public ear.

^h Sylvester’s Baxter, Part I. 73.

CHAP. In order to an accurate knowledge of the Assembly, its constituent parts must be separated.

X. CHARLES The sections which composed it must be distinguished,

I. Parties composing it. and the views of each be clearly ascertained, before an enlightened judgment can be passed on its proceedings. Its members were far from being agreed in their ecclesiastical views, and it is owing probably to this circumstance that they were permitted to constitute such a convention.

The presbyterians.

The presbyterians formed by far the largest portion of the assembly, and were supported by a majority in the parliament, by the popular feeling of the metropolis, and by the whole weight of the Scotch nation. The leaders of this party in the assembly were Twisse, Calamy, White, Marshall, Palmer, and the Scotch commissioners. They were distinguished by ministerial gravity and diligence, and in their personal qualities were worthy of comparison with the most select divines of any age. “In England,” says Baxter, and his testimony is confirmed by other authorities, “the persons which were called presbyterians were eminent for learning, sobriety, and piety: and the pastors so called were they who went through the work of the ministry in diligent serious preaching to the people, and edifying men’s souls, and keeping up religion in the land.”ⁱ The great defect of this party has already been adverted to, and will further appear in the course of their history. They were men of more scriptural piety, who advocated a simpler and more effective form of church government than the bishops; but their policy was equally intolerant.

ⁱ Sylvester’s Baxter, Part II. 140.

They aimed at power rather than at liberty ; and in resisting the encroachments of the hierarchy sought to establish that of the Kirk. Could they have effected their object, an iron-hearted uniformity would have been imposed on the nation. The rites of religion would have been enforced with minute scrupulosity, but its generous impulses and voluntary movements would have been wholly crushed. Baxter was not insensible to this defect, and he has pourtrayed it with a fidelity which gives the greater weight to his approving testimony.

“ I disliked,” says the honest puritan, “ the course of some of the more rigid of them that drew too near the way of prelacy, by grasping at a kind of secular power ; not using it themselves, but binding the magistrates to confiscate or imprison men, merely because they were excommunicate ; and so corrupting the true discipline of the church, and turning the communion of saints into the communion of the multitude, that must keep in the church against their wills, for fear of being undone in the world ; when as a *man, whose conscience cannot feel a just excommunication unless it be backed with confiscation or imprisonment, is no fitter to be a member of a Christian church in the communion of saints, than a corpse is to be a member of a corporation.* It’s true, they claim not this power as *jure divino* (though some say that the magistrate is bound to execute these penalties on men merely as excommunicate) ; nor no more do the prelates, when yet the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* is the life of all their censures. But both parties too much *debase the magistrate* by making him their *mere executioner* ; whereas he is the *judge* wherever he is the *executioner*,

CHAP.
X.CHARLES
I.

CHAP. and is to try each cause at his own bar before he be
 X. obliged to punish any, and they corrupt the discipline of Christ by mixing it with secular force, and
 CHARLES

I. they reproach the keys or ministerial power, as if it were a leaden sword, and not worth a straw, unless the magistrate's sword enforce it (and what then did the primitive church for three hundred years?). And worst of all, they corrupt the church by forcing in the rabble of the unfit and unwilling; and thereby tempt many godly Christians to schisms and dangerous separations. In all this I deny not, but that the magistrate must restrain all sorts of vice; but not as a hangman only, that executeth the judgment of another; nor *eo nomine*, to punish a man because he is excommunicate (that is most heavily punished already by others), till magistrates keep the sword themselves, and learn to deny it to every angry clergyman that would do his own work by it, and leave them to their own weapons, the word and spiritual keys; *valeant quantum valere possunt*, the church shall never have unity and peace.”^k

The Independents

Happily for the interests of religion there was another party in the assembly, the members of which added to the personal virtues and ministerial diligence of the presbyterians, more expansive views and a more liberal creed. They were known by the name of Independents, and had for some time a very arduous and perplexing duty to perform. Their numbers were at first so limited, as to present but little ground to hope that they would be able successfully to resist the scheme of the presbyterians; but what they wanted in

^k Sylvester's Baxter, Part ii. 142.

numerical strength, was supplied by the consummate skill and first rate ability of their leaders.¹ They were distinguished from the presbyterians by maintaining the absolute independence of each church, so far as jurisdiction and discipline were concerned; and by denying the communication of spiritual power in ordination. They not only rejected the *jus divinum* of prelacy, but discarded, as equally papistical, the theory which vested ecclesiastical authority in the synodical meetings of church officers.^m The number of independent ministers in the assembly did not exceed ten or twelve, of whom Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Simpson, and Bridges, were the chief. These men had been trained amidst the privations of exile, and their characters had hence assumed a firmness and determination, which qualified them fearlessly to resist

¹ "The independents," remarks Dr. Lingard, "were few, and could only compensate the paucity of their number by the energy and talent of their leaders. They never exceeded a dozen in the assembly; but these were veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering, whose attachment to their favourite doctrines had been rivetted by persecution and exile, and who had not escaped from the intolerance of one church to submit tamely to the control of another." Hist. of England, x. 274.

"We found the independents," says Baillie, "clear for the whole people, every communicant male to have decisive voice in all ecclesiastic causes, in admission, deposition, excommunication of ministers, in determining of schisms and heresies. That no congregation did depend on any su-

perior synod, so that a congregation falling in all the heresies and crimes of the world, neither the whole nor any member of it can be censured by any synod or presbytery in the earth, however it may be refused communion by any who find no satisfaction in its proceedings: but which is worst of all, they avow they cannot communicate as members with any congregation in England, though reformed to the uttermost pitch of purity which the assembly or parliament are like to require, because even the English, as all the rest of the reformed, will consist but of professors of the truth, in whose life there is no scandal, but they require to a member, beside a fair profession and want of scandal, such signs of grace as persuades the whole congregation of their true regeneration." ii. 67.

CHAP. the now dominant presbyterians. During the supremacy of Laud, they had sought refuge in Holland, CHARLES where their minds were braced, and their scrip-

L. tural views confirmed. It was not therefore to be expected that in returning to their native country, they would acquiesce in the tyranny of those brethren, who had contrived to escape the vigilant and remorseless usurpations of that primate. They consequently demanded for themselves and others the right of private judgment, and of unrestricted liberty of worship. They were the honest and consistent expounders of the principles of religious liberty, when a large body of the puritans showed themselves to be unworthy of their high vocation. The reasonings of the independents were broader and more comprehensive than that of their predecessors. They were founded on the acknowledged principles of human nature, and were equally applicable to all the diversified cases which could arise. Abandoning the partial and unsatisfactory ground which had been taken by the puritans, they entrenched themselves behind the nature of man and the character of Christianity ; and would enter into no compromise which endangered the highest and best interests of the human family. They became, in consequence, the rallying point of the minor sects, whom the presbyterians sought to repress. Against many of their dogmas they protested, as strongly as the more powerful party ; but for their right to form and propagate their opinions they honestly contended. Hence their claims on the gratitude and admiration of posterity. The principles for which Locke, and succeeding philosophers, triumphed

phantly pleaded, were brought forth to public view, and instilled into the national mind by the despised sectaries of the Westminster Assembly.

CHAP.

X.

CHARLES
I.

The success of the independents was for some time of a negative character. It was not to be expected that they should overrule the decisions of the assembly; or that their reasonings, however able and satisfactory, would convince their presbyterian opponents. The history of ecclesiastical councils affords few examples of such open-hearted candor. But, though they failed to bring the assembly to their views, they succeeded, to a considerable extent, in preventing the adoption of those measures by which the presbyterian leaders hoped to crush the sectaries.ⁿ Time was thus afforded for the growth

ⁿ Baillie frequently complains of the slow progress of the assembly, and attributes it to the efforts of the independents. His letters are full of information, and throw much light on the spirit and policy of his party. Writing under date of January 1, 1644, he says “The independents, foreseeing the prejudice such a determination might bring to their cause, by all means strove to decline that dispute; as indeed it is marked by all, that to the uttermost of their power hitherto they have studied procrastination of all things, finding that by time they gained. We indeed did not much care for delays, till the breath of our army might blow upon us some more favour and strength.” i. 412. Again, Feb. 18th, he says “The independents, do what we are all able, have kept us debating these fourteen days on these two propositions; but little to their advantage; for I hope this day we shall conclude the propositions: and now all the

world proclaims in their faces that they, and they only, have been the retarders of the assembly, to the evident hazard of the church’s safety, which will not be much longer suffered.” 430. “The unhappy independents,” adds the shrewd and narrow-minded commissioner of the kirk, in a subsequent letter, “keep all the matters of the church so loose, that there is no appearance of any short settling.” 448. At length he anticipated the cessation of these vexatious delays, and exulted in the prospect of presbyterian uniformity. Writing to Mr. Robert Blair, March 26, respecting the approaching meeting of the general assembly, he tells him, “It is like, about that time, there shall be more to do here than before; for the delays of the independents importunities have been wonderful, which now I hope are drawing near an end; and very likely, about that very time of the assembly, if God cast not in unexpected impediments we may be about the high-

CHAP. of that formidable power which speedily disarmed
 X. the presbyterian party, and extinguished its hopes
 CHARLES of supremacy.

I. The character of the independents of this period has been variously drawn. Clarendon, while representing their ministers as "more learned and rational than the presbyterians," ascribes to them, as a party, the deepest and most unscrupulous subtlety. But other witnesses, more honest than the noble apologist of Charles, and equally exempt from the suspicion of partiality, have furnished a fairer and more honorable view of their character. Richard Baxter, whose prejudices against them were somewhat violent, candidly acknowledges the eminence of their ministers, and the integrity of their profession. While expressing several objections to their tenets, he honestly declares, "I saw that most of them were zealous, and very many learned, discreet, and godly men; and fit to be very serviceable in the church. Also, I saw a commendable care of serious *holiness and discipline* in most of the independent churches."^o

est points both of government and worship, the erecting of our presbytery, and putting our votes in practice, and settling of a directory, wherein we have yet got little things done, and much is here ado." 450.

^o Sylvester's Baxter, Part II. 140. The objection on which Baxter insists at greatest length against the independents, was "That they were commonly stricter about the qualification of church members, than Scripture, reason, or the practice of the universal church would allow." But in the *Apologetical Narration*, pub-

lished in 1643, and signed by Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, Burroughs, and Bridge, they triumphantly vindicate their procedure from the cavils of opponents. "Whereas," they remark, "one great controversy of these times is about the qualification of the members of churches, and the promiscuous receiving and mixture of good and bad; therein we chose the better part, and to be sure, received in none but such as all the churches in the world would by the balance of the sanctuary acknowledge faithful. And yet in this we are able to make

Even Baillie, the representative and advocate of the Kirk, though vexed with the pertinacious resistance of the independents to the intolerant supremacy of his church, is compelled incidentally to acknowledge their talent and moral excellence. He speaks of some of their leaders as full “of grace and modesty;” calls them, as a whole, “most able men, and of great credit;” and remarks, with a strange mixture of candor and narrow-mindedness, “Truly if the cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it out; but when they had wearied themselves, and over-wearied us all, we found the most they had to say against the presbytery was but curious idle niceties; yea, that all they could bring was no ways concluding.”^p

“Of all the bye-paths,” says the same writer, referring in 1645, to the independents “wherein the wanderers of our time are pleased to walk, this is the most considerable; not for the number, but for the quality of the erring persons therein. There be few

this true and just profession also, that the rules we gave up our judgments unto, to judge those we received in amongst us by, were of that latitude as would take in any member of Christ, the meanest in whom there may be supposed to be the least of Christ, and indeed such and no other as all the godly in this kingdom carry in their bosoms to judge others by. We took measure of no man’s holiness by his opinion, whether concurring with us, or adverse unto us; and churches made up of such, we were sure no protestant could but approve of (as touching the members of it), to be a true church with which communion might be held.” p. 11.

^p Letters i. 402, 408, 436. The presbyterians feared the independents more than they were willing to admit. “The independents,” says Baillie, “fearing no less than banishment from their native country if presbyteries were erected, are watchful that no conclusion be taken for their prejudice. It was my advice, which Mr. Henderson presently applauded, and gave me thanks for it, to eschew a public rupture with the independents, till we were more able for them. As yet a presbytery to this people is conceived to be a strange monster.” Ibid. 408.

CHAP. of the noted sects which are not a great deal more
 X. numerous ; but this way what it wants in number,
 CHARLES supplies by the weight of its followers. After five

I. years' endeavours and great industry within the lines of the city's communication, they are said as yet to consist of much within one thousand persons ; men, women, and all who to this day have put themselves in any known congregation of that way, being reckoned. But setting aside number, for other respects they are of so eminent a condition, that not any nor all the rest of the sects are comparable to them : for they have been so wise as to engage to their party some of chief note in both houses of parliament, in the assembly of divines, in the army, in the city and country committees; all whom they daily manage with such dexterity and diligence for the benefit of their cause, that the eyes of the world begin to fall upon them more than upon all their fellows.”^q

The Erastians. The Erastians constituted a third party in the

^q Baillie's Dissuasive, 53. Those of my readers who wish to see the utmost that can be urged against the independents, may be amply gratified by consulting the “Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Hollis,” and “The History of Independency” by Clement Walker. Hollis and Walker belonged to the same party, and united in an extraordinary degree the bitterness of religious strife, with an indiscriminate and unscrupulous detraction of their opponents. The temper and style of the latter may be judged of from the following description of the heresy he so heartily loathed. “But before I go further, it is fit I tell you what independency is. It is *genus generalissimum* of all errors, here-

sies, blasphemies and schisms. A general name and title under which they are all united, as Sampson's foxes were by the tails, and though they have several opinions and fancies (which make their vertiginous heads turn different ways), yet profit and ferment (being their tails), their last and ultimate end by which they are governed (like a ship by his rudder), and wherein they mutually correspond. The rest of their differences being but circumstantial, are easily plastered over with the untempered mortar of hypocrisy by their rabbies of the assembly, and their grandees of the two houses and army, in whom they have an implicit faith.” Hist. of Indep. p. i.

assembly. They were named from Erasmus, a German physician of the sixteenth century, who contended for the subjection of the ecclesiastical to the civil power. Selden and Whitelock, among the lawyers, and Lightfoot and Coleman, among the divines, were the most distinguished supporters of this theory. They maintained that the ministers of religion possessed no other power than that of persuasion, and that the right of exclusion from the church was vested in the civil magistrate. By depriving the clergy of all other authority than that which was moral, they sought to preserve the unity of the commonwealth, and to prevent the evils which had resulted from priestly domination.^r Such a theory was not an unnatural result of the extravagant pretensions and lordly pride of the Roman and episcopal clergy. One extreme commonly begets another, till men are sufficiently cool and clear-sighted, to distinguish the impulse of passion from the monitions of an enlightened judgment. The Erastians, though far from agreeing with the Independents in many of their views, generally sided with them in their opposition to the Presbyterians.^s

^r Sylvester's Baxter, p. ii. 139. Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 272.

^s The Erastians contended for the right of the civil magistrate to determine the form and polity of the church, while the independents maintained the obligation of a strict adherence to apostolic precedent, and the sufficiency of scriptural direction. "The Supreme rule *without us*," say the latter, "was the primitive pattern and example of the churches erected by the apostles. Our consciences were possessed with that reverence and adoration of the

fulness of the Scriptures, that there is therein a complete sufficiency as to make the *man of God* perfect so also to make the churches of God perfect (mere circumstances we except, or what rules the law of nature doth in common dictate), if the directions and examples therein delivered were fully known and followed. And although we cannot profess that sufficiency of knowledge as to be able to lay forth all those rules therein which may meet with all cases and emergencies that may or sometimes did fall out amongst

CHAP.
X.CHARLES
I.

CHAP. Such were the materials of which the Westmin-
X. ster Assembly was composed, and its proceedings
CHARLES evinced in consequence the extremes of folly and
J.

wisdom—of enlightened discussion and of narrow-minded bigotry. Many of its members, unpractised in the arts of government, and incapable of sympathizing with the more generous and lofty aspirations of the regenerators of mankind, were utterly incompetent to their station; while others would have dignified by their presence, and enlightened by their wisdom, any assembly which Europe could supply. Many of their discussions were trifling and impertinent, and the spirit which they sometimes evinced, reads an instructive lesson to the men of other times. The history of their transactions is the most conclusive argument which can be adduced against such clerical conventions, acting on the command, and sustained by the authority of the civil power. The personal virtues of their members are but a poor equivalent for the mischiefs which, in their associated capacity, they have uni-

us, or that may give satisfaction unto all queries possible to be put unto us; yet we found principles enough, not only *fundamental* and essential to the being of a church, but *superstructory* also for the well being of it, and those to us clear and certain, and such as might well serve to preserve our churches in peace and from offence, and would comfortably guide us to heaven in a safe way: and the observation of so many of those particulars to be laid forth in the world, became to us a more certain evidence and clear confirmation that there were the like rules and ruled cases for all occasions whatsoever if we were able to discern them. And for all such

cases wherein we saw not a clear resolution from Scripture, example, or direction, we still professedly suspended, until God should give us further light, not daring to eke out what was defective in our light in matters divine with human prudence (the fatal error to reformation), lest by *sewing any piece of the old garment unto the new* we should make the *rent worse*; we having this promise of grace for our encouragement in this, which in our public assemblies was often for our comfort mentioned, that in thus doing the will of God we should know more." Apologetical Narration, p. 9.

formly inflicted on the civil liberties and religious welfare of a nation. CHAP.
X.

The alarming success of the king's arms at length compelled the parliamentary leaders to solicit the aid of the northern presbyterians. They had no alternative but to abandon the popular cause, or to risk the dangers of such an interposition. Fears were entertained for the safety of London ; and the House of Lords, and many members of the Commons, were in favour of a negotiation being opened with the monarch. Under these circumstances, it was resolved that Commissioners should be sent into Scotland to solicit aid ;—a perilous but necessary step which was taken with reluctance, and tended to embarrass the subsequent proceedings of parliament. Two peers and four commoners were appointed to this embassy ; but the former declining the service, the latter proceeded without them, accompanied by Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Nye, a presbyterian and an independent minister. Sir Henry Vane was the principal member of this embassy, and on his subtlety of intellect, and dexterity in negotiation, the hopes of the English parliament were mainly suspended. He was inferior to none of his illustrious contemporaries in those qualities of mind which are necessary to the successful management of a delicate and difficult embassy ; while his unspotted integrity commanded the

July 20, 1643.

^t Rushworth iv. 466. Parl. Hist. iii. 150. The Scotch did not augur well from the appointment of an independent minister to accompany the Commissioners. "They are expected daily," says Baillie, referring to the Commiss-

sioners. "They speak of two ministers also. Mr. Marshall will be most welcome; but if Mr. Nye, the head of the independents, be his fellow, we cannot take it well." Letters i. 372.

CHAP. respect of all who were capable of appreciating
X. moral worth. Born the son of a courtier, he early
CHARLES imbued the spirit of an enlightened patriotism,
I. which he consistently maintained against the
despotism of Charles, the usurpations of Cromwell,
and the perfidious and heartless tyranny which fol-
lowed the restoration of the Stuarts.

The Commissioners experienced considerable difficulty in accomplishing the object of their mission. They were desirous of evading the question of religion, and of confining attention to the civil necessities of the parties whom they represented. But the Scotch were not to be diverted from their favorite scheme of assimilating the ecclesiastical institutions of the two nations. "The English," says Baillie, when giving an account of the negotiation, "were for a civil league, we for a religious covenant. When they were brought to us in this, and Mr. Henderson had given them a draught of a covenant, we were not like to agree on the frame; they were, more than we could assent to, for keeping of a door open in England to independency. Against this we were peremptory."^u The usual resource of parties who have a common interest, but differ on subordinate points, was at length resorted to; and a general phraseology was em-
ployed, which each hoped to interpret according to their own views.

The solemn
League and
Covenant.

In the instrument ultimately adopted, and which is known in history as the *Solemn League and Covenant*, it was provided that the existing polity of the Church of Scotland should be sacredly preserved,

^u Letters i. 381.

that the Churches of England and Ireland should be reformed “according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches,” and that an effort should be made “to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising.” It was further stipulated, that endeavours should be made for “the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church government by arch-bishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.”^x

Such an engagement, even if perfectly voluntary on the part of the individuals taking it, would have been open to serious exceptions. It displays the common error of the times in seeking the uniformity of ecclesiastical rites, rather than that unity of spirit in which the omnipotence and loveliness of christian truth are seen. But as a national cove-

^x Rushworth iv. 478. The limiting clause in this last paragraph, which defines the *kind* of episcopacy abjured, was inserted to meet the views of several members of the Assembly of Divines. Dr. Burgess, the prolocutor of the assembly, and many of his brethren, were in favour of a modified episcopacy, such as prevailed shortly after the apostolic age. They therefore refused to subscribe to the covenant unless the parenthesis was inserted, which,

Its intolerant character.
after some debate, and a warm opposition from the Scotch commissioners, was agreed to. In conformity with this limitation, Mr. Thomas Coleman, who preached before the Lords on the occasion of their subscribing to the Covenant, gave this explanation of the second article, “By prelacy we mean not all episcopacy, but only the form which is here described.” Sylvester’s Baxter, Part. I. 48, 49.

CHAP. nant, to be enforced on all classes of the community
X. as the pledge of civil loyalty and of religious cha-
CHARLES racter, it is one of the most anomalous and despotic

I. instruments which have descended to us from the olden times. It is in vain to attempt its defence, or to palliate the inconsistencies in which it involved the popular party. It was the offspring of a narrow and intolerant bigotry, which could see no excellence under other forms of worship than those of the presbyterian church, and would gladly have availed itself of the secular power, to enforce its dogmas and rites on a reluctant people. The presbyterians of this period were as ignorant of the nature of religious liberty, and as little disposed to permit its exercise, as any of their episcopal predecessors. Not Laud himself, in the height of his power, was more concerned for the suppression of "sects and schisms," than were the zealous adherents of the kirk. His piety was more questionable, but his views were equally expansive, and his policy not a whit more intolerant. Nor can the Solemn League and Covenant be redeemed from severe censure by the religious tone which pervades it. Such phraseology has been adopted by the zealots of every age, and goes no farther to vindicate the presbyterians, than it does the episcopalians and papists. Many of the last two classes were as sincere as any of the former, and an impartial judgment must consequently involve them all in the same condemnation. Those were most guilty in persecuting others, who had suffered most severely themselves. Their own trials should have subdued their spirit, and taught them the wisdom which cometh from above.

Sufficient evidence of the reluctance, with which the most eminent of the parliamentary leaders, consented to the adoption of the Covenant has already appeared; and it will subsequently be seen, that they exerted all their skill to abridge its operation, and to avert the evils with which it threatened to inundate the land.

On the twenty-fifth of September, the House of Commons, together with the Assembly of Divines and the Scotch Commissioners, met in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, to subscribe to the covenant.^y The mode in which this was done, clearly indicates the temper of the times. Religious solemnities were introduced on the occasion, after which "the covenant was read, and then notice was given, that each person should by immediately swearing thereunto, worship the great name of God, and testify so much outwardly by lifting up their hands; and then they went up into the chancel, and there subscribed their names in a roll of parchment, in which the covenant was fairly written."^z

^y Clarendon and Whitelock represent the Lords as being present, and as concurring with the Commons on this occasion. But their account is inaccurate. For some reason which does not appear, the members of the Upper House did not take the covenant till the middle of October.

^z Rushworth iv, 475. White-locke 70. Clarendon's Rebellion iv. 279. Rushworth assigns the taking of the covenant to the 22nd, in which he differs from Whitelock, Clarendon, and other writers whose authority is followed in the text. Dr. Lightfoot, who was present as one of the assembly of divines, gives the following account of the day's

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X.

CHARLES
I.

Taken by the
Commons
and the As-
sembly of
Divines, Sept.
25th.

proceedings: "This morning being wet, we had word presently, after our sitting into assembly, that the House of Commons was gone into St. Margaret's Church, and so we went after them. And after a psalm given by Mr. Wilson, picking several verses, to suit the present occasion, out of several psalms, Mr. White prayed near upon an hour. Then he came down out of the pulpit, and Mr. Nye went up, and made an exhortation of another hour long. After he had done, Mr. Henderson, out of the seat where he sat, did the like; and all tended to forward the covenant. Then Mr. Nye, being in the pulpit still, read the covenant; and at every clause of

CHAP. It was ordered to be taken throughout the
 X. parishes of London on the ensuing sabbath, and the
 CHARLES Assembly of Divines was directed to frame an
 I. exhortation preparatory to its being enforced on the
 Ordered to be whole nation. This was speedily accomplished,
 enforced ge- and being approved by parliament, was directed to
 nerally. be printed under the title of "*An exhortation to the
 February 9, taking of the solemn league and covenant, for refor-
 1643—4. mation and defence of religion, the honour and hap-
 piness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three
 kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*"^a

Feb. 3. The covenant was also ordered to be taken by the
 parliamentary committees stationed in different
 counties, by all clergymen, churchwardens, and
 other parochial officers, by all soldiers in the service
 of parliament, and by the community at large. "If
 any minister," said the instructions which accom-
 panied these orders, "refuse to take or tender the
 covenant, or if any other person refuse to take it
 after a second tender, upon two Lord's days, their
 names shall be returned to the Committee, and by
 them to the House of Commons; and all persons
 that absent themselves after notice given, shall be
 returned as refusers."^b Directions were also for-
 forwarded to Mr. Strickland, the agent of the parlia-
 ment at the Hague, to tender it to all the English
 resident in those countries, and to report the names
 of such as refused it.^c

it, the House of Commons, and we
 of the assembly, lift up our hands,
 and gave our consent thereby
 to it, and then went out into
 the chancel and subscribed our
 hands; and afterwards we had
 a prayer by Dr. Gouge, and ano-
 ther psalm by Mr. Wilson, and
 departed into the assembly again;

and after prayer, adjourned till
 Thursday morning, because of the
 fast." Journal of the Assembly of
 Divines. Lightfoot's Works, xiii.
 15.

^a Rushworth, iv. 475—477.

^b Husband's Collections, ii. 420.

• Whitelock, 79.

A new test was thus introduced, which, in the hands of the presbyterians, became a fruitful source of oppression. It was enforced extensively on the episcopal clergy, many of whom were deprived of their livings, and subjected to other penalties for refusing to take it. Their conduct was attributed to factious motives, and was held to be proof of ‘malignancy,’ but impartial men will honor their integrity, and rank them amongst the confessors, whose example constitutes the redeeming feature of human conduct. The disaffection of the Clergy to the cause of the parliament, which is usually urged in defence of the Covenant, might have justified the enforcement of a civil test, but utterly fails to vindicate an ecclesiastical oath, designed to bind the conscience, and to determine the worship of him who took it. The covenant was expressly framed for an ecclesiastical purpose, and cannot therefore be justified by any civil object which it incidentally effected. That the episcopal clergy were adverse to the new order of things, is admitted on all hands ; and that their opposition was sometimes carried to an extent which it would have been criminal in the parliament to overlook, must be acknowledged by reflecting men of all classes. But the ends of good government might have been answered without a violation of the rights of conscience ;—the civil duties of subjects might have been enforced, without requiring an act of treachery to the majesty of truth and the only head of the church.

By making religious opinions, and conformity in ecclesiastical rites, the badge of patriotism and the title to civil offices, the dominant party acted on the principles, and emulated the unhallowed zeal of the

CHAP. bishops. They were thus committed to an inglorious warfare with some of the noblest spirits of CHARLES their day ;—a warfare in which no laurels could be

I. won, and the very success of which now mantles with a blush, their more discriminating and intelligent advocates. Whatever blinded zealots and unscrupulous advocates may allege, every right-minded man will esteem it to have been the opprobrium of the presbyterians, that their reckless intolerance heaped disgrace on some of the most learned, and reduced to abject poverty, many of the most devout and peacable ministers of the Hierarchy.^d

^d The covenant was not enforced as extensively as the orders prescribed. "Those clergymen," says Neal, "who had declared for the king, were usually put to the trial; but reputed Calvinists, of sober lives, who had stood neuter, were frequently overlooked." iii. 68. Baxter was an instance of this. "For my own part," he

says, "I kept the town and parish of Kidderminster from taking the covenant; yea, and most of Worcestershire besides, by keeping the ministers from offering it in any of their congregations to the people, except in Worcester city, where I had no great interest, and knew not what they did." Sylvester's Life, 64.

CHAPTER XI.

Charges against the Parliamentary Committees—Committee for plundered Ministers—Number of Episcopal Clergy ejected—Estates of Delinquents confiscated—King retaliates—Visitation of Cambridge University—Unsettled state of Ecclesiastical affairs—the Intolerance of the Presbyterians the cause thereof—London Ministers' Petition—Temporary Regulations respecting Ordination—The New Directory.

VERY serious charges are preferred by the royalists against the parliamentary committees. CHAP.
XI. Their duties were of an invidious order, and could scarcely be performed even by the most consummate wisdom, without furnishing plausible ground for the accusation of severity. Clarendon indulges in his usual strain of indiscriminate vituperation; while Nalson, though affecting greater impartiality, departs equally from the grave and accurate statements of the historian. “Thus did they endeavour,” he says, speaking of the Committee for scandalous ministers, “to bring the orthodox episcopal and loyal clergy into both contempt and hatred: and to make them appear scandalous, received and encou-

CHARLES
I.
Charges a-
gainst the
Parliamenta-
ry commit-
tees.

CHAP. raged all sorts of informations against them, the
XI. foundations of which were generally laid in the
CHARLES malice or mistake of their known enemies, who,
I.

contrary to natural justice, were admitted to be their accusers ; and it was no uncommon thing for these ignorant informers to accuse their ministers for preaching popish doctrines in their pulpits, when they, only in their way, took occasion to mention them in order to their confutation.”^a That a large number of episcopal clergymen were deprived of their benefices, is admitted on all hands ; but no conclusion, favorable or otherwise to the parliament, can be drawn from this fact. It is necessary that the charges preferred against them, and the opportunities for self-vindication which they possessed, should be carefully considered, before a correct judgment on their case can be pronounced. If they were prosecuted by malice, and convicted only of a faithful adherence to their religious faith, then their expulsion must be condemned as a manifest invasion of the rights of conscience ;—a despotic and nefarious exercise of power. But if, on the other hand, it should appear, that a large proportion of the ejected clergy were men of immoral lives, or of notorious incompetency ; and that others employed their official influence to stir up the people against the parliament ; then every impartial mind must come to the conclusion, that their ejection was not only justifiable, but loudly called for. In the former case it was demanded by religion ; and in the latter, it was necessary to the stability of society, and the success of the popular cause.

^a Collections i. 793.

The inquiries instituted by the committee respecting the clergy summoned before them concerned immoralities of life, such as drunkenness, swearing, and debauchery; a deviation from the doctrinal articles of the church of England; a profanation of the sabbath by reading, or otherwise countenancing the book of sports; enforcing the late innovations pronounced illegal by parliament; neglect of parochial duties; and disaffection to the popular cause evinced in the assistance rendered to his Majesty, and in opprobrious epithets applied to the adherents of parliament.^b Their forms of proceeding were unexceptionable, and the grossest crimes alleged against the clergy were proved by the evidence of several witnesses.^c The disclosures made before the committee led to the ejection of a large number of the episcopal clergy from their livings. After all the deductions which a calm investigation of the facts of the case may warrant, an impartial mind is compelled to acquiesce in the conviction, that the great body of the clergy at this time were notoriously disqualified for their high vocation. The same causes which had contributed to the degeneracy of the Romish orders, had engendered ignorance and vice among the officers of the English church. Illustrious exceptions were indeed to be found, but the general character of the clergy was similar to that which had awakened popular indignation against the papal church.

The ejected clergy naturally complained of injustice, and the royalist party lauded them as mar-

CHAP.
XICHAP.
I.

^b Walker, p. i. 81, 82. Neal,
iii. 24.

^c White's Century, Ep. to the
Reader, p. 5.

CHAP. CHARLES XI. I. tyrs. This led to the publication of "The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests," by Mr. White, chairman of the parliamentary committee, which contained "A narration of the causes for which the parliament had ordered a sequestration of the benefices of several ministers," and constitutes one of the darkest and most revolting chapters in the history of priestly crime. The object of this publication—justifiable only in the extraordinary circumstances which then existed—is set forth by Mr. White in an epistle to his reader. "That the parliament," he says, "may appear just in their doings, and the mouth of iniquity may be stopped, this narrative of the crimes and misdemeanours of those sons of the earth is here published, that all the world may see that the tongues of these that speak evil of the parliament are set on fire of hell, and lift up against heaven, and that they hide themselves under falsehood, and make lies their refuge." This publication was ordered to be printed by a committee of the Commons on the 17th November, 1643, and may be considered as an official defence of their proceedings. It was the most effective course which could have been adopted, and must have served to refute a thousand calumnies that were in extensive circulation.^a

^a Walker has vainly attempted to controvert the representations of this pamphlet, but a more unsuccessful effort was scarcely ever made. Amidst the immense and bewildering verbiage of his volume, little more can be detected than blind partiality and an embittered spirit. "I shall add but one more general reflection on the doctor's list," says Calamy, in his remarks

on Walker's publication, "and that is such an one as can hardly escape any man that runs it over ever so lightly, and that must, I think, raise the resentment of all lovers of sobriety. 'Tis well known, and he himself neither was, nor could be insensible, that a number of his sufferers were charged with such immoralities, as were scandalous to their func-

In the progress of the civil war large numbers of the puritan clergy were driven from their homes by the king's armies. These sought refuge in the quarters of the parliament, and being reduced to great distress, appealed to the legislature for aid. The Commons accordingly directed, December 27, 1642, that at the next public fast "a collection should be made for the ministers that had been plundered," and four days afterwards appointed a committee "to consider of the fittest way for the relief of such godly and well affected ministers as have been plundered. And likewise to consider what malignant persons have benefices here, in and about this town, whose livings being sequestered, these may supply their cures, and receive their profits." Shortly afterwards their powers were enlarged, so as to enable them to "send for parties and witnesses," and they were ordered to "consider of constituting ministers to supply the cures, and to sequester the means of the aforesaid livings for them, if upon occasion they shall find it fitting." With a view of preventing the introduction of incompetent persons into the ministry, it was subsequently ordered that this committee "should not nominate

CHAP.
XI.CHARLES
I.Committee
for plundered
ministers.Jan. 4,
1642-3.July 27,
1643.

tion, which he often ridicules, and makes a jest of; than which hardly anything could be more unbecoming. Now such crimes as these were either well proved or not. If not well proved, the doctor when he had mentioned them should have endeavoured to have disproved them. But if they were well proved, their sequestration was so well deserved, that they ought not to have been represented

as sufferers, or under a hardship: and the making a jest of their crimes, is most certainly a thing very unbecoming a divine; and especially one that had recommended the sufferers of whom he gave an account, *As persons of such lives, as scarce any church, since the first times of Christianity, was ever blessed with.*" The Church and the Dissenters Compared, &c. p. 65.

CHAP. any to benefices, but such as should first be examined by the assembly;" and they were empowered
 XI. CHARLES "to consider of the informations against scandalous
 I.: ministers, though there be no malignancy proved
 against them."^e

The province of this committee was afterwards greatly extended by an order of the Commons, Sept. 6. directing that the "deputy-lieutenants, and committees of parliament in any county of this kingdom, or any five or more of them, shall have power to take the examinations of all witnesses against any ministers that are scandalous either in life or doctrine, or any others that have deserted their cures, and joined themselves actually with, and are assistant unto the forces raised against the parliament." The accused parties were to have sufficient notice of the time and place, when and where, the charge would be preferred against them; the witnesses were to be examined in their presence, and a copy of the articles on which they were arraigned was to be granted them if desired, together "with a convenient time to give in their answers under their hands."^f

These provisions evinced a becoming solicitude in the parliament to guard against the abuses to which their proceedings were liable, and are in honorable contrast with the measures adopted by the episcopalians at the restoration. An appeal was also allowed to the two houses of parliament, or to

^e Heylin's Presby. 459. Walker, p. i. pp. 73, 74. From the date of the last of these orders, the committees for scandalous and for plundered ministers were iden-

tical. Their distinct provinces were merged in one general object.

^f Husband's Collections, ii. 311.

the committee of Lords and Commons, on which the management of public affairs was chiefly devolved.^g

CHAP.
XI.CHARLES
I.Number of
episcopal
clergy
rejected.

Very exaggerated accounts of the number of the ejected clergy are furnished by the royalist writers. Dr. Walker calculates them at from eight to ten thousand, though after all his labour, and the innumerable blunders which his list contains, he is not able to reckon up two thousand.^h The number was undoubtedly very great, but the judgment passed on the conduct of the parliamentary committees must be regulated by other considerations. Mere numbers prove nothing in this case, least of all do they establish an analogy between the episcopal clergy and the non-conformists of Charles the Second's reign. Individual cases of oppression did undoubtedly occur. The political connexions and conduct of the arraigned parties must have rendered it difficult in many cases to decide on the course that ought to be pursued. Personal virtues may have been opposed to public delinquency; and an honest zeal on behalf of the popular cause have enforced a rigour which every humane and christian mind must have regretted. It is in vain to judge of the proceedings of such a period by the rules which are applicable to calmer and more ordinary times. The king and his parliament were at open war, and nothing would have been more adverse to the success of either, than to have permitted the clergy in their respective quarters to have pro-

^g Husband's Collections, ii. 15.^h Sufferings, &c. p. i. pp. 86, 199, 200. Hallam, ii. 227. Calamy has sufficiently exposed the inaccuracy of the doctor's list, and the

fallacy of the grounds on which his calculations are made. The Church and the Dissenters, &c. pp. 54—57.

CHAP. moted the success of their opponents. The clergy,
XI. as a class of public officers deriving their mainte-
CHARLES nance from the state, were necessarily responsible
I.

to the legislature for the due discharge of their functions. But the legislature itself being divided, its dissevered branches exercised over distinct portions of the empire the authority which belonged to the whole. Each claimed to be the legitimate expression of the public mind, and in this character challenged the obedience of such as were within its power. The king invariably did so, and the parliament were only acting in conformity with his example in sequestering such of the episcopal clergy as sought to alienate the people from the popular cause. Their loyalty to the king was treason to the parliament, and the penalty which followed was an inevitable, though most unhappy result of the disorder into which society was thrown.

But while the general proceedings of the parliament against the clergy who adhered to the king are capable of vindication, no defence ought to be attempted of the means sometimes employed to effect the conviction of individuals. It was right that the popular cause should be protected from the pernicious influence which a misguided clergy might exert; but the utmost caution, and the strictest regard to equity, ought to have been observed in compassing this end. Unhappily, however, there is reason to believe that the judgments pronounced in many cases, were regulated rather by general prejudice than by a patient examination of the evidence adduced. The course of events having identified the episcopal clergy with the king's party, each

member of the former body was hastily concluded to be an inveterate enemy of the parliament. There might be some ground for this conclusion, but it was an inversion of all the rules of judicial inquiry to allow it to determine, or even to influence the judgment which was pronounced. The eagerness with which occasions were sought, for expelling the clergy from their livings, admits of no extenuation, and ought to be condemned by all parties.ⁱ But the number expelled by such unfair means, bears no proportion to those whose absence from the altar was a blessing to the church. Richard Baxter, while freely animadverting on the conduct of the parliamentary committees, bears honorable testimony to the usefulness of their labours. “I must needs say,” he remarks, “that in all the counties where I was acquainted, six to one at least (if not many more) that were sequestered by the committee were by the oaths of witnesses proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both; especially guilty of drunkenness or swearing, and those that being able, godly preachers, were cast out for the war alone, as for

ⁱ The treatment received by such men as Chillingworth, Bishop Hall, Dr. Walton, and John Hales, has done more to prejudice the popular cause in the judgment of posterity than all the virulence of Heylin, and the laboured and skilful pleadings of Clarendon. The record of their sufferings has avenged their wrongs, and renders more than ordinary circumspection necessary, even at the present day, in pronouncing judgment on these times. It is far from easy to restrain our sympathy with such virtuous and learned men within those limits which the general merits of the case assigns.

Our indignation at oppression prompts us to discard the plea of patriotism, and to comprise in one indiscriminate censure all the measures of the popular party. Yet truth requires that the whole case should be considered; and our sober judgment compels us to admit that even in the cases we have mentioned there are considerations which ought to modify, though they may not reverse, our decision. Let us be assured that the individuals named were free from the charge of aspersing the parliament and of aiding the king, and we will consign their judges to unmitigated reprobation.

CHAP.
XI.

I.

CHAP. their opinion's sake, were comparatively very few.
 XI. — This I know will displease that party ; but this is
 CHARLES true.”^k

Great difficulty was experienced in supplying the places of the sequestered clergy. It was not to be expected that a sufficient number of competent men would at once be found, but the parliament did its utmost. Under the necessity of the case, some were admitted whose qualifications were of the meanest order : but on the whole the provision was well fitted to the existing wants of the population. Heylin represents the vacant benefices as “ in part supplied by such presbyterians who formerly had lived as lecturers, or trencher chaplains ; or else bestowed upon such zealots as flocked from Scotland and New England, like vultures and other birds of rapine, to seek after the prey.”^l And another equally charitable and veracious writer, whom Dr. Walker quotes with approbation, states that “ Their powerful ministry are *ignorant, factious, schismatical* ministers ; or else intruding mechanics ; who, without any calling, either from God or man, stepping from the cobbler’s stall, the butcher’s board, or the bricklayer’s scaffold, into the pulpit ; like Sheba’s trumpet summoning the people to rebellion.”^m

^k Sylvester’s Baxter, p. i. p. 74.
 “ Now,” says Fuller, “ began the great and general purgation of the clergy in the parliament’s quarters, many being outed for their *misdemeanours* by the committee appointed for that purpose. Some of their offences was so foul, it is a shame to report them, crying to justice for punishment.” Ch. Hist. B. XI.. 207.

^l Hist. of Presb. 454.

^m Walker, p. i. p. 73. Even South

could stoop to the low and unprincipled artifice of charging upon the whole body of non-conformists the extravagances of a few ignorant enthusiasts. It is difficult to acquit him from the charge of wilful falsehood in such passages as the following : “ All learning was then cried down, so that with them the best *preachers* were those that could not read, and the ablest divines such as could not write. In all their preachments they so

Had the parliament availed itself to the extent
alleged by these writers of the aid of pious laymen,
they would only have acted in conformity with the
reason of the case, and with the example of the re-
formers of Elizabeth's reign. But their representa-
tion is exaggerated, and deeply tinged with the false
coloring of party spleen. Baxter, who possessed
far better opportunities of acquainting himself with
the character of the parliamentary clergy, assures
us that "though now and then an unworthy person,
by sinister means, crept into their (the ejected
clergy) places, yet commonly those they put in
were such as set themselves laboriously to seek the
saving of souls. Indeed the one half of them were
very young, but that could not be helped, because
there were no other to be had. The parliament
could not make men learned nor godly, but only
put in the learnedest and ablest that they could
have. And though it had been to be wished that
they might have had leisure to ripen in the Universi-
ties, yet many of them did as Ambrose, teach and
learn at once so successfully, as that they much in-
creased in learning themselves whilst they profited
others; and proportionably more than many in the
Universities do."ⁿ

CHAP.
XI.CHARLES
I.

highly pretended to the *spirit*,
that some of them hardly could
spell a letter. To be blind with
them was a proper qualification
of a spiritual guide, and to be
book-learned (as they call it), and
to be *irreligious*, were almost
terms convertible. None were
thought fit for the ministry but
tradesmen and mechanics, because

none else were allowed to have
the *spirit*. Those only were ac-
counted like Saint Paul, who
could work with their hands, and,
in a literal sense, drive the nail
home, and be able to *make a pulpit*
before they preached in it." Grey's
Exam. ii. 75.

ⁿ Sylvester's Baxter, p. i. p. 74.

CHAP. The sequestration of their benefices was not the
 XI. only hardship under which the episcopal clergy
 CHARLES labored. Their zeal in the king's service subjected

I. them to the operation of an ordinance passed by
 The estates of delinquent subjects confiscated. parliament, April 1, 1643, the preamble of which
 1643. set forth "That it is most agreeable to common
 justice that the estates of such notorious delinquents,
 as have been the causers or instruments of the pub-
 lic calamities which have been hitherto employed to
 the fomenting and nourishing of these miserable
 distractions, should be converted and applied to-
 wards the supportation of the great charges of the
 commonwealth, and for the easing of the good sub-
 jects therein." It was therefore enacted that the
 estates, both real and personal, of all bishops, deans,
 and others, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, who
 had appeared in arms against the parliament, or
 voluntarily contributed to the service of the king,
 should be seized and employed "for the benefit of
 the commonwealth."^o

King
retaliates.

To this ordinance the king replied in a proclama-
 tion, dated April 7th, in which, after commanding
 his subjects to yield no obedience to the former, he
 declares his intention "to give order for seizing the
 estates of such as shall rebelliously disobey us
 herein, to the intent they may remain in safe cus-
 tody until the offenders can be brought to legal
 trial." All tenants and debtors are commanded to
 withhold their rents and other debts from such as

^o Rushworth, iv. 309, 310. Hus-
 band, ii. 13—16. This ordinance
 was further explained Aug. 19,
 when a clause was added, em-
 powering the commissioners to

allow to the wives and children
 of delinquents a fifth portion of
 the property confiscated. Scobel's
 Collections, 49.

have aided the parliament, and special marks of favor are promised on a zealous compliance with the king's pleasure. Another proclamation was issued on the 15th May, in which bitter complaint is made against the parliament for their proceedings against the royalist clergy, whom all subjects are required to support in their ancient privileges. "And if any person or persons," said the monarch, in happy ignorance of the future, "shall presume to transgress this our command, we do hereby declare That they do not only oppugn and infringe the good old laws of the land, and the liberties of the church, but do also assist a rebellion against us, for which we shall proceed against them according to law, as they shall be apprehended and brought to the hands of justice, and will give direction for taking their goods and lands into safe custody in the meantime."^p Both parties thus sought to terrify their enemies, and, as they had opportunity, they carried their threats into execution.

The attention of parliament was now directed to the University of Cambridge, the whole weight and influence of which were zealously devoted to the service of the king.^q The frequent disputes which occurred between the students and the townsmen, afforded a fair pretext for interposing. The work of reform was entrusted to the Earl of Manchester, whose mild character and moderate views were uni-

Visitation of
Cambridge
University.

1644.

^p Husband, ii. 28, 177.

^q So early as August, 1642, the colleges at Cambridge forwarded their plate and a considerable sum of money to the king at Notting-

ham, which was employed in the equipment of troops to serve against the parliament. Clarendon, iii. 245.

CHAP. versally acknowledged. He was empowered to appoint one or more committees in each of the seven CHARLES associated counties, before whom it was directed that

I. “all provosts, masters, and fellows of colleges, all students and members of the University, &c. that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the parliament, or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence,” should be summoned. Measures were promptly adopted against such members of the University as had avowed their hostility to the parliament, or through fear had abandoned their stations. Many of them refused to obey his summons; in

April 8, 1640. consequence of which, he proceeded to eject sixty-five fellows belonging to various colleges and halls. Several others experienced similar treatment; so that in the course of this and the following year nearly two hundred masters and fellows were deprived of their emoluments and banished the University.^r The reasons alleged for their ejection, are absence from their college, neglect of the Earl’s summons, and “several other misdemeanours.”^s

^r Dr. Grey, on the authority of Barwick, gives the following tabular list:—

Trinity College	42
St. John’s College	30
King’s College	5
Queen’s College	20
Christ’s College	9
Jesus College	15
St. Peter’s College	20
Emmanuel College	2
Pembroke Hall	19
Magdalen College	6
Gonvil and Caius College	9
Clare Hall	8
Sidney-Sussex College . . .	6
Katherine Hall	1
Corpus Christi College . . .	3
Exam. of Neal. ii. 154.	

^s“When we were going to the rest of the propositions concerning the presbytery,” writes Baillie, April 2, 1644, “my Lord Manchester wrote to us from Cambridge what he had done in the University, how he had ejected, for gross scandal, the heads of five colleges, Dr. Coosings, Beel, Sterne, Ramborne, and another; that he had made choice of five of our number to be masters in their places, Mr. Palmer, Vines, Seamen, Arrowsmith, and our countryman Young, requiring the assembly’s approbation of his choice, which was unanimously given; for they are all very good and able divines.” Letters, i. 439.

The covenant does not appear to have been generally enforced. The parliament adopted it with reluctance, and urged it only in those cases in which CHARLES disaffection towards themselves, and attachment to I. the king's cause, were suspected.

The persons who were installed into the vacant offices of the University were required to make a solemn protestation that they would labor to promote piety and learning in the fellows, scholars, and students, "and by all means to procure the good welfare and perfect reformation both of the college and University." Their characters were of course aspersed, and their attainments decried by those whom they succeeded. It was natural for the parties who felt themselves aggrieved to form an unfavorable estimate of the men who had supplanted them: nor will a candid and humane mind severely censure the strong expressions which they were accustomed to employ.^t The parliamentary commissioners were represented as having "reduced a glorious and renowned University almost to a mere Munster;" as having equalled "the Goths and Vandals, or even the Turks themselves," in the intellectual and religious desolation which they accomplished. "They thrust out," says the author of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, himself an ejected fellow, "one of the eyes of this kingdom; made eloquence dumb, philosophy sottish; widowed the arts; drove the Muses from their ancient habitation; plucked

^t "As it were with one blow to destroy the whole University," says Dr. Barwick, in the life of his brother, "they banished from its senate, and from their several colleges, the venerable professors of divinity and law, famous for

their learning over all the world, together with the Vice-Chancellor, and about two hundred more of their most considerable and learned men, and put blockheads, for the most part, and senseless scoundrels in their places." Life 32.

CHAP. XI. the reverend and orthodox professors out of their
 ——— chairs, and silenced them in prison or their graves ;
 CHARLES I. turned religion into rebellion ; changed the aposto-
 lical chair into a desk for blasphemy ; tore the gar-
 land from off the head of learning, to place it on
 the dull brows of disloyal ignorance ; made those
 ancient and beautiful chapels, the sweet remem-
 brancers and monuments of our forefathers' charity,
 and kind fomenters of their children's devotion, to
 become ruinous heaps of dust and stones ; and un-
 hived those numerous swarms of labouring bees,
 which used to drop honey-dews over all this king-
 dom, to place in their room swarms of senseless
 drones.”^u

How far these complaints were from being well-founded will appear in the subsequent course of this history. The puritan clergy, whatever may have been their faults, were not deficient in the more substantial and important qualifications of their

^u Dean Barwick, the author of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, was a zealous royalist, whose history shows how difficult the most moderate and liberal-minded of the popular party must have found it to abstain from ejecting the king's clergy from their livings. Barwick obtained from the University of Cambridge letters of testimonial, designed to protect him from suspicion, and to recommend him to the notice and correspondence of others. These were procured Feb. 29, 1644, and consequently before the ejections took place. With them he repaired to London, where, to use the language of his brother and biographer, “he had the management of the king's affairs, and, as a secret spy, carried on a private correspondence betwixt London and Oxford;

on the one hand communicating to his Majesty all the designs and endeavours of the rebels, and conveying his royal orders and commandments on the other.” Life, 46. Such was the employment of one of the ejected fellows, an employment known to the others, and sanctioned by the University. And yet because the parliament, in self-defence, deprived Barwick and his associates of the power of doing further mischief, they are represented as trampling on the rights of conscience, and establishing a precedent which justified the expulsion of the irrationally loyal non-conformists at the restoration. Had the parliament done otherwise, in the case of such men as Barwick, they would have manifested the last degree of pusillanimity and weakness.

office. They were mostly the sons of Oxford and Cambridge, and were equally distinguished in many cases for the depth of their learning, and the assiduous discharge of their ministerial functions. Their attainments and character will sustain comparison with the clergy of any age or nation, and were mainly conducive to the formation of those illustrious divines who constituted the glory of the English church after the restoration.^x

The ecclesiastical condition of the nation was now thoroughly unsettled. A large portion of the episcopal clergy had been displaced, all the higher officers of the church were deprived of authority, and the new men who officiated at her altar were averse from her ritual, and desirous of introducing into her worship the simpler forms of Geneva. Much confusion and many disorders ensued, which the parliament sought to remedy, by directing the assembly of divines " forthwith to consult of such a Oct. 12, 1643. Unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs. discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad." They were also commanded to consult " concerning the directory of worship or liturgy hereafter to be in the church," and to report their opinions with all convenient speed to the parliament.^y On the reception of this message the assembly appointed a solemn fast, after which they addressed themselves to the business entrusted to them. Here, however, their pro-

^x Querela Cantabrigiensis. Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, 167—171. Walker,

part i. pp. 108—116. Neal, iii. 94

—107.

^y Lightfoot's Works, 13, 17.

CHAP. gress was arrested by the diversity of opinions which
XI. were broached. So long as they had to deal with
CHARLES episcopacy, they were held together by a common
^{1.} sentiment; but when the bishops were removed, and the old system overturned, they found insuperable difficulties in the construction of a new form of ecclesiastical polity. The parliament has frequently been censured for what necessarily resulted from the existing state of things. The old system was removed without a substitute being provided, and hence the popular leaders have been charged with a want of foresight, and a disregard to the religious interests of the community. But a slight attention to the facts of the case will justify the sagacity of their course.

The intolerance of the presbyterians, the causes thereof.

The presbyterians, independents, and erastians alike condemned the course which had been followed by the bishops. So far, they proceeded harmoniously, and with every prospect of success; but when their immediate object was attained, the most distinguished of the popular leaders found that they had to withstand a new enemy, whose pretensions were as despotic, and its creed as exclusive as any of the displaced episcopalians. Could the presbyterians have been satisfied with the establishment of their own polity, the matter would have been brought to a speedy determination. But they stedfastly refused to concur in a toleration of other sects, and thus created a formidable opposition to the adoption of their own scheme.² Their narrow and infatuated bigotry

² Baillie's letters are full of statements to this effect. "A mighty faction is arisen, to prefer liberty of conscience for all sects.

It would encourage them (the presbyterians) much, if the divines of Geneva and Switzerland would in their answers to the Synod's

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I.

made the rejection of their propositions a question of life and death with the independents and minor sectaries. For the latter to have allowed them to triumph, would have been to yield themselves up to the tender mercy of an ignorant and relentless bigotry, which shrank from toleration as the greatest curse that could visit the church. Hence they were opposed in the assembly by the *Dissenting brethren* with a determination and sagacity that baffled their designs, and ultimately wrested victory from their grasp. “We have begun a business,” says Baillie, referring to the assembly, “of great consequence. In the time of this anarchy, the divisions of people does much increase; the independent party grows; but the anabaptists more; and the antinomians most. The independents being most able men, and of great credit, fearing no less than banishment

letter, exhort the Synod at some length and in earnest, to beware of that pernicious liberty of all sects, in particular those who are enemies to the discipline of all the reformed.” ii. 14. “He (John Goodwin) is a bitter enemy to presbytery, and is openly for a full liberty of conscience, to all sects, even Turks, Jews, papists. This way is very pleasant to many men. That faction increases mightily in number, hopes, and pride; but if it please God to give us good news from York, we will tell them more of our mind.” ib. 15. “We hope, if once we had peace, by God’s help, with the spirit of meekness mixed with a little justice, to get the most of these erroneous spirits reduced.” ib. 24. “We are hopeful the parliament will not own their way so much as to tolerate it, if once they found themselves masters.” ib. 49.

‘Our next work is, to give our advice what to do for suppressing of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other sectaries. This will be a hard work; yet so much as concerns us will be quickly patched—I hope in one session.’ ib. 55. “This day (Sept. 13, 1644) Cromwell has obtained an order of the House of Commons, to refer to the committee of both kingdoms the accommodation or toleration of the independents; a high and unexpected order: yet, by God’s help, we will make use of it contrary to the design of the procurers. We had need of your prayers in this hour of great darkness.” ib. 57. “The great shot of Cromwell and Vane is to have a liberty of all religions, without any exception. Many a time we are put to great trouble of mind. We must make the best of an ill game we can.” ib. 61.

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I.

from their native country if presbyteries were erected, are watchful that no conclusion be taken for their prejudice. As yet, a presbytery to this people is conceived to be a strange monster.”^a

Several of the parliamentary leaders were as opposed as the independents to the domineering spirit and intolerant policy of the presbyterians, and became in consequence, patrons of the various sects which advocated the claims and the sacredness of religious liberty. The bigotry of the presbyterians, was the sole cause of the unsettled state, in which the nation was held for some years. Their number and influence were too great to allow of the triumph of their opponents, while their own principles were too contracted and selfish, to permit others to concur in their ascendancy. They were perpetually complaining, in bitter and reproachful terms, of the disorders which prevailed ; while their own spirit constituted the sole barrier to a speedy and satisfactory arrangement.

This state of parties rendered it the policy of Hampden, Vane, Cromwell, and the other advocates of religious liberty, to prevent the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. They could not hope for the present to secure the recognition of their own enlarged views; and their sagacity was consequently employed in devising expedients to prolong discussion, and to defeat the immediate object of the presbyterians. Exercising a noble faith in the soundness of their principles, they calculated on their rapid diffusion; and their energy and skill were employed to prevent new obstructions from being raised by the short-sighted policy of the Kirk. The result justified their foresight, and proved their title

^a Letters i. 408.

to rank among the most sagacious and practical CHAP.
of British statesmen. XI.

In the meantime the presbyterian clergy grew CHARLES
clamorous. They saw through the policy of their I.
opponents, and zealously endeavoured to defeat London min-
it.^b Several of the London ministers united
in a petition to the Commons, reminding them isters peti-
of their own declarations, portraying in gloomy tion to the
colors the unsettled state of the nation, and Commons.
entreating them "to expedite a directory for
public worship, and to accelerate the establishment
of a pure discipline and government according to
the word of God and the example of the best re-
formed churches."^c The Commons received the peti-
tioners with respect, and gave them the thanks of
the House. The assembly was immediately directed
to take the subject into consideration, and thereupon,
recommended as a preliminary step, suited to the
present exigency, and absolutely necessary for the
supply of vacant churches,

1. "That an association of some godly ministers in and about the city of London be appointed,"

Temporary
regulations
respecting
ordination.

^b On the 9th of September, 1644, the Westminster Assembly appointed a committee to inquire into "the cause that God is so provoked" which reported on the following day, attributing it to the sins of the assembly, the army, and the parliament. In the last of these catalogues they specify, "Not tendering the covenant to all in their power; not active in suppressing anabaptists and antinomians; and not a free publishing of truths, for fear of losing a party." Lightfoot xiii. 309, 310.

Baillie referring to this business says, "We spent two or three days

on the matter of a remonstrance to the parliament of the sins which provoked God to give us this late stroke; and here we had the most free and strange parliament that ever I heard, about the evident sins of the parliament, the sins of the army, the sins of the people. When we were in full hope of a large fruit of so honest and faithful a censure, Thomas Goodwin and his brethren, as their custom is to oppose all things that are good, carried it so, that all was dung in the howes, and that matter clean laid by. Letters ii. 59.

^c Rushworth iv. 780.

CHAP. by public authority, to ordain ministers for the city
 XI. — and the neighbouring parts, keeping as near to the
CHARLES rule as may be.
 I.

2. "That the like associations be made by the same authority in great towns and neighbouring parishes in the several counties which are at present quiet and undisturbed.

3. "That such as are chosen or appointed for the service of the army or navy, being well recommended, be ordained as aforesaid; and the like for any other congregations that want a minister."^d

Twenty-three divines were consequently appointed as a temporary committee to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry, and the assembly proceeded with the preparation of a formula for public worship.^e

The New
Directory.

The parliament having now resolved to lay aside the Book of Common Prayer, urged the assembly to complete the *New Directory*, on which they had been engaged for some months. This was effected in November, and on the third of the following January an ordinance was passed declaring that "the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, taking into serious consideration the manifold inconveniences that have arisen by the Book of Common Prayer in this kingdom, and resolving, according to their covenant, to reform religion according to the word of God and the example of

^d Neal iii. 126.

^e Lightfoot's Works, xiii. 312. The subject of ordination had long been before the assembly, and their views respecting it were communicated to the parliament

so early as April. Baillie frequently complains when alluding to this matter, of the dilatoriness of the assembly, and of the neglect of parliament. Letters ii. 3, 30, 37, 45, 52, 54.

the best reformed churches, have consulted with the reverend, pious, and learned divines, called together to that purpose ; and do judge it necessary that the said Book of Common Prayer be abolished, and the Directory for the public worship of God, herein-after mentioned, be established and observed in all the churches within this kingdom.”^f

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In the preface to the Directory, which is drawn up with singular moderation, the views of parliament in effecting so important an alteration are explicitly set forth.^g After specifying the objections to which the Book of Common Prayer was liable, it proceeds, “ Not from any love to novelty, or intention to disparage our first reformers (of whom we are persuaded, that were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom

^f I have followed the date given in a copy of the ordinance prefixed to the Directory, and printed in 1646. Rushworth assigns the following day. Coll. iv. 839. The presbyterians naturally exulted at the adoption of the Directory by parliament. Baillie’s joy knew no bounds, and broke forth in the following strains in a speech which he delivered in the assembly. “ That an assembly and parliament in England unanimously, but which is their word, abolished not only these ceremonies which troubled us, but the whole service book, as a very idol, so speak they also, and a vessel full of much mischief ; that in place of episcopacy a Scotch presbytery should be concluded in an English assembly, and ordained in an English parliament, as it is already ordained in the House of Commons ; that the

practice of the Church of Scotland, set down in a most wholesome, pious, and prudent directory, should come in the place of a liturgy in all the three dominions ; such stories lately told would have been counted fancies, dreams, mere impossibilities ; yet this day we tell them as truths, and deeds done, for the great honour of our God, and, we are persuaded, for the joy of many a godly soul.” Letters ii. 87.

^g Fuller tells us that the *Dissenting brethren* were with considerable difficulty induced to concur in the adoption of the *Directory*, and that their ultimate assent to it was attributable to the mild temper of the preface “ which did much moderate the matter, and mitigate the rigorous imposition thereof.” Ch. Hist. xi. 222.

CHAP. we acknowledge as excellent instruments raised by
 XI. God to begin the purging and building of his House,
 CHARLES and desire they may be had of us and posterity in
 I. everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honour), but that we may in some measure answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, which we have promised in our solemn league and covenant. We have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with flesh and blood, but with his holy word, resolved to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, and have agreed upon this following Directory for all the parts of public worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times.”^h

The Directory answered strictly to its title. It was not a form of prayer, but a series of directions respecting the demeanor proper to be observed in the house of God ; the mode of conducting the several parts of divine worship ; and the forms to be maintained in the celebration of Christian ordinances and of ecclesiastical rites.ⁱ The rules laid down

^h The king published a proclamation, Nov. 13, 1645, forbidding his subjects to use the Directory, and commanding them, under the penalty of his displeasure, to retain the Book of Common Prayer. Rushworth v. 207.

ⁱ “Wherein our care hath been to hold forth such things as are of divine institution in every ordinance ; and other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the general

are for the most part eminently judicious, and indicate the solicitude of the parties who had drawn them up, to secure a reverend and edifying performance of Christian worship.^k The apocrypha was wholly rejected, lay and private baptisms were forbidden, sprinkling was substituted for dipping, and the sign of the cross and the intervention of godfathers and godmothers were discontinued. The frequency with which the Lord's Supper should be celebrated was left to the determination of "the ministers, and other church governors of each congregation ;" and instead of the altar and rails for which Laud had so eagerly contended, it was ordered that a "table should be so conveniently placed, that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it." Marriage was declared to be no sacrament, and the use of the ring was discarded. Religious ceremonies were forbidden at burials, and the Christian Sabbath was declared to

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I.

Rules of the Word of God. Our meaning therein being only that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers and other parts of public worship being known to all, there may be a consent of all the churches, in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God ; and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer ; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture : and yet so, as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them ; but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself, and the flock of God

committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of Divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further, or other materials of prayer and exhortation as shall be needful upon all occasions."

^k The directions respecting preaching, which presuppose that "the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the original languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids to divinity—by his knowledge in the whole body of theology—but most of all in the Holy Scriptures," may be read with advantage even at the present day.

CHAP. XI. be the only day ordained in Scripture to be kept holy.

CHARLES I. So far the parliament only acted in consistency with its own pretensions. As it exercised the authority of the legislature in other departments of the state, it was perfectly natural that it should assimilate the services of the church to its own views. Maintaining the necessity of a state church, it could scarcely have done otherwise. But the whole principle of its procedure was vicious, and the consequences which followed were deeply reprehensible. The Directory was not immediately adopted throughout the kingdom. Many preferred the ancient liturgy, and others through inadvertence or carelessness continued to use it. This was not to be tolerated by the advocates of uniformity, and an ordinance was consequently passed, ordering a copy of the Directory to be forwarded to every minister, who was commanded openly to read it "in their several churches and chapels for the public worship of God." Any person using the Book of Common Prayer "in any church, chapel, or public place of worship, or in any private place or family" was to be fined for the first offence five pounds, for the second ten, and for the third was to suffer twelve months' imprisonment. Ministers not observing the Directory in public worship were to forfeit forty shillings; and all who should print, write, or preach against it were to be fined in a sum, not less than five pounds, nor more than fifty.¹

Aug. 23, 1645.

¹ Rushworth v. 205—207.

Such were the first-fruits of presbyterian ascendancy, in which an earnest was given of the unscrupulous rigor with which the members of that party were resolved to enforce their discipline. For a season their purpose was answered, but their temporary triumph was dearly purchased by the alienation of the public mind. The people were astonished at the spectacle they witnessed ; and learnt to regard the advocates of the Kirk as one in spirit and policy with the members of the Laudean faction. Led away for a season, they soon recovered their sober-mindedness, and the result is well known to history. The speedy overthrow of presbytery which followed, is attributable solely to the cold-hearted intolerance of its abettors.

CHAP.
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I.

CHAPTER XII.

Trial and execution of Laud—His Character—Death of Hampden—Pym—Brook—Unsatisfactory condition of the Parliament's affairs—Self-denying Ordinance—New modelling of the Army—Opposite character of the two armies—Battle of Naseby—Growth of the Baptists—Their Confession of faith.

CHAP. DURING this period, the trial and execution of
XII. Archbishop Laud had taken place. This is one
CHARLES of the most reprehensible transactions of the Long
^{I.} Parliament, and sufficiently bespeaks the change it
^{Trial of Laud.} had undergone. From the time of his apprehension, Laud had remained a prisoner in the tower. His name was seldom heard, and but few inquired after his welfare or life. From this state of seclusion and neglect, he was suddenly and most impolitely brought out, in consequence of his refusing to collate the living of Chatham in Kent on a person nominated by the House of Lords. The king, regardless of the Archbishop's safety, had directed him to appoint to vacant benefices, such only as he should name; or, in case the parliament should command otherwise, Laud was directed to let the right

of presentation lapse to the crown. The Lords peremptorily commanded his compliance with their wishes, and on his refusal, sent a message to the Commons to expedite his trial. His enemies took advantage of the occasion; a committee was appointed; and Prynne devoted himself to the collecting of evidence, with all the diligence and zeal, to which a remembrance of his own wrongs could excite an unforgiving heart.^a

Ten additional articles of impeachment were added by the Commons to those previously presented, upon the whole of which the Archbishop was arraigned at the bar of the Lords, on the 12th March, 1643-4. He conducted his defence with such undaunted resolution and ability, as to render the issue, for some time, extremely doubtful.^b

But the Commons changed their impeachment into a bill of attainder, which the Lords, after an impotent display of opposition, disgraced themselves by passing.^c Six days afterwards, the Archbishop was executed on Tower Hill, amidst an immense assemblage, who exulted in the sacrifice thus made to a long oppressed, but now dominant party. “Laud had amply merited punishment for

^a Troubles and Tryal of Laud, 200—206.

^b “To give him his due,” says Prynne, “he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of man to invent, and that with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least blush or acknowledgement of guilt in any thing (ani-

mated by his sealed pardon lying by him) as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent; a far better orator, sophister, than protestant or Christian, yea, a truer son of the Church of Rome than of the Church of England.” Canterbury Doome. 462.

^c Troubles and Tryal of Laud, 211—453. Heylin’s Laud, 512—529.

CHAP.
XII.CHARLES
I.
April 21, 1643.

October 23.

Jan. 4, 1644.

CHAP. XII. his tyrannical abuse of power ; but his execution at the age of seventy, without the slightest pretence of political necessity, was a far more unjustifiable instance of it than any alleged against him."^d

CHARLES I. His character. No enlightened friend of civil and religious liberty, will allow his sympathy with the sufferer, to blind his judgment to the obliquities of his administration. A medium course between the absurd eulogies of Heylin and the fierce denunciations of Prynne, is best accordant with the facts of his history and the claims of truth. He met with the same harsh and brutal treatment which he had dealt out to others ; and is mainly indebted to this fact, for the interest with which he has subsequently been regarded.

Utterly estranged from the spirit of the English constitution, he sought to level all the safeguards of freedom, and to expose its citadel to the occupation of a despotic monarch. Amidst the slavish minions of the court of Charles, he shone unrivalled—exulting in the severity of his measures, and deriving from past defeat, fresh hostility against the liberties of his country. His dark and scheming spirit disburdened itself only to the listening ear of Strafford, from whose loftier genius, and more expansive views Laud anticipated the accomplishment of his designs.

In the church he ruled with a rod of iron. Inaccessible alike to pity and remorse, he sought to crush the spirit of the puritans, and to restore the departed glory of his church. Incapable of infusing into it the vigor of a healthful piety, it was his aim to increase the splendour and to multiply the

^d Hallam, ii. 229.

ceremonies of the church. He was too proud and despotic to be a subordinate of Rome, yet he would gladly have assimilated his church to the external form of the papacy. Personal ambition was united with ecclesiastical pride, and political servitude was promoted as a means to clerical domination.^e Had he been brought to trial when first arrested, it would have been difficult to establish any material distinction between his case and that of Strafford. They had been co-workers in the service of an unprincipled tyranny ; and if the Lord-lieutenant deserved his doom, no less a penalty might justly have been inflicted on the Primate. But the state necessity which was pleaded in the case of Strafford was wholly absent from that of Laud. He had sunk into contempt, and was therefore incapable of mischief.^f Perpetual imprisonment might have been inflicted ; but to take away his life was a gratuitous violation of the letter and forms of the constitution. It savored more of private vengeance than of public justice ; and betokened the departure of those master spirits who had presided over the earlier deliberations of parliament.

Laud's patronage of literature and of learned men, constitutes the only redeeming feature of his administration. It is the solitary virtue which sheds

^e March 6, 1836. "Sunday, William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry the VIIth's time. I pray God to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the king and the state service and contentment by it. And now if the church will not hold up

themselves under God ; I can do no more." Laud's Diary, p. 53.

^f "Canterbury every week is before the Lords for his trial," says Baillie, Feb. 18, 1644, "but we have so much to do, and he is a person now so contemptible, that we take no notice of his process." Letters i. 430.

CHAP.
XII.
CHARLES
I.

CHARLES I. **CHAP. XII.** a partial lustre over an otherwise unbroken course of misrule. In private life he was free from all the grosser vices, yet was wholly destitute of the more attractive and ennobling qualities of man's nature. His base ingratitude to Bishop Williams—his early patron ; and the relentless rancor with which he sought the ruin of the aged Abbot, cover his memory with disgrace ; while his absurd and puerile superstitions render him an object of derision and contempt.^s “ He was a man,” says May, “ vigilant enough, of an active, or rather of a restless mind ; more ambitious to undertake, than politic to carry on ; of a disposition too fierce and cruel for his coat ; which, notwithstanding, he was so far from concealing in a subtle way, that he increased the envy of it by insolence.”

The state of political parties was now materially altered, and it will be necessary briefly to advert to the change which had taken place, in order to comprehend the position and course of ecclesiastical affairs. Hampden and Pym, the early leaders of the popular party, had fallen during the year 1643 ; —the former in battle, and the latter in consequence of his numerous and exhausting public labours.

Death of
Hampden,
June 24, 1643.

The death of Hampden was occasioned by a wound received on Chalgrove Field, June 18th. He lingered a few days in extreme suffering, expressing an entire satisfaction in the course he had pursued, and commanding his country to the protection of God. “ O Lord,” said the dying patriot, “ save my

^s Laud's Diary is one of the most singular records extant of human weakness and folly ; and should be

attentively read by those who wish to understand his character.

bleeding country. Have these realms in thy especial keeping. Confound and level in the dust those who would rob the people of their liberty and lawful prerogative. Let the king see his error, and turn the hearts of his wicked counsellors from the malice and wickedness of their designs. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" Again, recurring to his native land he prayed, "O Lord, save my country; O Lord be merciful to——." Here his speech failed him, and falling back on his bed he expired.^b The royalists exulted in his death "as a great deliverance to the nation," while the parliament were filled with dismay.

Little need be said respecting the character of John Hampden. It is sufficiently apparent throughout his history, and has uniformly commanded the respect and admiration of impartial men. His fearless resistance of the tyranny of Charles, when that tyranny was both powerful and merciless; the calm and dignified tone in which he ruled the early deliberations of the Long Parliament; and the energy and decision with which he sought to bring the struggle to an issue, when an appeal to arms was inevitable;—all prove him to have been as consummate a statesman as he was an inflexibly upright man. Even Clarendon, while endeavoring to injure his reputation, is compelled to do homage to his transcendent abilities, and surpassing prudence of address. "He was, indeed," remarks the party historian, "a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popu-

CHAP.
XII.CHARLES
I.

^b Lord Nugent's *Hampden*, ii. 438.

CHAP. larity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the
XII. people, of any man I ever knew.”ⁱ

CHARLES To a remarkably equable temper, he united a
I. self-control and clearness of perception, which rendered him an eminently successful parliamentary speaker; while his unspotted integrity and firm adherence to principle, constituted him the most formidable opponent of the Court. With the eye of a skilful tactician he surveyed the forces arrayed against him;—allowed them to expend their strength, to pour forth the vials of their wrath, or to justify themselves behind the precedents of a former age; and then, when their victory was supposed to be won, and tokens of exultation were displayed, the matchless power of Hampden’s eloquence was felt. “He had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person.”^j

To his profound sagacity as a statesman, and his skill as a parliamentary leader, he added an enlightened patriotism and the sterling virtues of Christianity. On the whole, it may be pronounced with safety, that English history records no purer or brighter example of public virtue and of private

ⁱ Hist. of Rebellion, iv. 93.

^j Ibid., iv. 92.

excellence, than was exhibited in the career of John CHAP.
XII.
Hampden. Consistent from the first, that career CHARLES
I.
was happily terminated before its lustre had been CHARLES
I.
dimmed, or its beauty impaired by the mists of
human passion ; and he now shines forth, the idol
and the pattern of all succeeding worthies.

John Pym, who died in December of the same year, Death and
character of
Pym.
was cast in a different mould from Hampden. He was more moderate in his ecclesiastical views, and would probably have preferred a reduced episcopacy, such as Usher advocated, to any other form of church government. But the efforts of the bishops to widen the misunderstanding between the king and his parliament, and their zeal in aiding the arms of the former, induced him to concur in the abolition of their functions, “ which I conceive,” he said, “ may as well be done as the dissolution of monasteries, monks, and friars was, in King Henry the VIIIth’s time.”^k

His intimate acquaintance with the forms of parliamentary procedure, combined with unwearied diligence, extensive research, matchless skill in the arrangement of public business, and an unspotted integrity, secured him great influence in the House.^l His style of oratory was masculine and

^k Neal, iii. 85.

^l An attempt has been made to fasten upon Pym the charge of a criminal connexion with the Countess of Carlisle. Mr. Forster has stated the evidence on which the charge rests, and few impartial men will be convinced by it. Life of Pym, 213. The general character and party connexions of Pym, render the commission of

such a crime in a very high degree improbable ; while Baxter’s distinct recognition of his piety satisfies me of the falsity of the accusation. The honest puritan might be mistaken in his reasonings, and be prejudiced in many of his views, but he was the last man in the empire to sanction immorality, by throwing the garb of religion around its agent. The connexion

CHAP. nervous, and effected its purpose by a straight-forwardness and honesty, rather than by any brilliancy
 XII. CHARLES of conception or loftiness of intellectual range.
 I.

“He had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself,” says Clarendon, “with great volatility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were.”^m

Death of
Lord Brook.

Lord Brook was another distinguished patriot who died during this year. He took an early and decided part in the struggles of the period, and,

which confessedly subsisted between Pym and the Lady Carlisle is referable to her ambition rather than to a more culpable passion on his part. Yet it afforded a plausible pretext to the party writers of his day for their malignant insinuations, and has since been industriously improved by the opponents of the puritans. Sir Toby Matthew’s description of her character, sufficiently discloses the secret of her interest in the leader of the popular party.

^m Hist. of Rebellion, iv. 437. Clarendon’s account of Pym is defaced by party spleen, to a greater extent, even, than was common with this most prejudiced and partial historian. Not content with recording serious charges against him, on evidence the most flimsy, he attributes his death to an unusual and frightful disease, with an obvious design of representing it as a judgment from heaven. But this calumny was clearly refuted by Mr. Stephen Marshall, who preached his funeral sermon. “It may be,” said the preacher, “some of you expect I should confute the calum-

nies and reproaches which that generation of men who envied his life, do already begin to spread, and set up in libels concerning his death; as that he died raving, crying out against that cause, wherein he had been so great an instrument, charging him to die of that loathsome disease, which that accursed Balsack, in his book of slanders against Mr. Calvin, charged him to die of. But I forbear to spend time needlessly to wipe off those reproaches which I know none of you believe. And this will satisfy the world against such slanders, that no less than eight doctors of physic, of unsuspected integrity, and some of them strangers (if not of different religion from him), purposely requested to be present at the opening of his body; and well near a thousand people, first and last, who came many of them out of curiosity, and were freely permitted to see his corpse, can, and do, abundantly testify the falsehood and foulness of this report; the disease whereof he died being no other than an imposthume in his bowels.”

though a member of the Upper House, was adverse to episcopacy, and favorable to the independent scheme. He was a man of undoubted piety; less influential, indeed, than Hampden or Pym, but holding an important station, the duties of which were faithfully discharged. He was the author of two theological treatises, which display considerable acuteness, extensive reading, and a catholic spirit. His death occurred at Litchfield on the second of March, and is superstitiously noted in the diary of Laud.^a

The death of these statesmen greatly diminished the prospect of a peaceful and satisfactory adjustment of the great contest; and the new construction of the parliamentary forces, which speedily followed, put another face on the condition of affairs. The Earl of Essex, and the other principal officers in the service of parliament, were either incompetent to their situation, or unwilling to bring the war to a speedy issue. Disaster consequently followed upon disaster, and the victories which occasionally revived the courage of their troops, failed to yield any

CHARLES
I.

^a Lord Falkland, the most enlightened and temperate of the king's advisers, was also slain in the summer of this year, at the battle of Newbury. Clarendon's sketch of his character is one of the masterpieces of English composition. It glows with all the ardor of a noble friendship, and must serve to rescue the partizans of the king from indiscriminate reprobation. Clarendon's admiration of such a man as Falkland, does more to redeem his own character from reproach, than all the labored apologies he has

penned. "In this unhappy battle," says the historian, "was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that imitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity." Hist. of Rebellion, iv. 241.

CHAP. permanent advantage. There was a manifest want
XII. of determination on the part of the general, which
CHARLES rendered the prodigious exertions of the popular
I.

leaders unavailing and fruitless. Again and again, an appeal was successfully made to the patriotism of the City and the nation ; but when the exhausted treasury of parliament had been filled, and its army recruited, the whole was wasted in inactivity, or culpably exposed to the sudden incursions of the royalists. This state of things naturally engendered extensive dissatisfaction, which eventually found expression in the House, and led to an alteration that determined speedily the fate of the war. Cromwell took a prominent part in the discussions which arose out of the unsatisfactory posture of affairs, and he advocated, as usual, more vigorous and decisive measures. “If I may speak my conscience,” said the future protector, “without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.”

Dec. 9, 1644.

Self-denying
ordinance,
April 3,
1645.

The self-denying ordinance, which, with some difficulty was carried through the Upper House, was designed to remedy the evils complained of, by effecting the removal of those officers whose conduct was viewed with mistrust. This ordinance was not prospective, as is usually affirmed; but merely went to deprive such members of the two houses as were then in possession of civil or military trusts; and thus opened the way, for the promotion of the more zealous and able officers who had distinguished themselves in the war. The Earls of Essex, Man-

chester, and Denbigh, in consequence resigned their CHAP.
XII. commissions.^o

This measure was connected with another of equal CHARLES
I. importance. It was resolved to new model the army, so as to render it more serviceable, and to place the whole of it under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.^p The self-denying ordinance had originated in the bold spirit and determined policy of Cromwell, who alone, of all the members of the House, was exempted from its operation. His enemies have done him too much honor in attributing this exemption to his own sagacity. It resulted, on the contrary, from circumstances which he could not have foreseen, and over which he possessed no control.^q Its influence on his subsequent character

^o Parl. Hist. iii. 326—356. “The House of Commons,” says Baillie, Dec. 26, 1644, “in one hour has ended all the quarrels which was betwixt Manchester and Cromwell, all the obliquities against the General, the grumblings against the proceedings of many in their house. They have taken all office from all the members of both houses. This done on a sudden, in one session, with great unanimity, is still more and more admired by some as a most wise, necessary, and heroic action; by the other as the most rash, hazardous, and unjust action as ever parliament did. Much may be said on both hands, but as yet it seems a dream, and the bottom of it is not understood. We pray God it may have a good success.” Letters, ii. 78.

^p Ibid. iii. 340—344. It was resolved that the army of the parliament should consist of 6000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and 14,000 foot. Whitelocke, 118.

^q “The truth is, that his con-

tinuation in command was effected by a succession of events which he could not possibly have foreseen. He had been sent with Waller to oppose the royalists in the west; on his return he was ordered to prevent the junction of the royal cavalry with their forces under the king; and he then received a commission to protect the associated counties from insult. While he was employed in this service, the term appointed by the ordinance approached; but Fairfax expressed his unwillingness to part with so experienced an officer at such a crisis; and the two houses consented that he should remain forty days with the army. Before they expired the great battle of Naseby was fought; in consequence of the victory, the ordinance was suspended three months in his favour, and ever afterwards the same indulgence was reiterated as often as it became necessary.” Lingard, x. 304.

New model-
ling of the
army.

CHAP. is obvious. A way was now opened for the display
XII. of his extraordinary powers, and the success which
CHARLES attended their exercise inflamed his ambition, and
I. surrounded him with circumstances which rendered it extremely difficult to harmonize his personal safety, and the rights of conscience, with the civil freedom for which he had fought.

Opposite character of the two armies.

The character of the two armies now opposed to each other, was as different as the principles for which they contended. Never perhaps was there exhibited a more perfect contrast than that which was seen in the camp of the Cavaliers, and that of the Roundheads. At the commencement of the war the former possessed the advantage of discipline, and the chivalrous spirit which was imparted by the presence of a large number of the nobility and upper gentry. But the latter gradually improved in the practice of military tactics; and now that their spirits were uncurbed, and their enthusiasm was allowed free play, their solemn psalm, or bended knee, became the sure prelude and token of victory. "Those under the king's commanders," says Clarendon, "grew insensibly into all the license, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety; which begot courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprizes. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confusion; and the other to destroy the king and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy."^r

The great mass of the king's army took little

^r Hist. of Rebellion, iv. 300.

personal interest in the war. They were guided by the determination of their landlords, by a stupid adherence to ancient forms, or by the desire of pay and plunder. Their camp became, in consequence, the scene of riot and low debauchery; and so intolerable was their conduct, that even the most loyal districts dreaded their approach. A large proportion of their officers, and several of those occupying the highest stations, openly scoffed at religion, and held morality in contempt. The precision and austerity of the puritans afforded them a pretext for going to the opposite extreme; so that loose morals, profane jesting, and bold impiety, were regarded by the Cavaliers as the sign and pledge of loyalty. "Their troops," says Clarendon, referring to the western counties, "were without any discipline, and the country as much exposed to rapine and violence as it could suffer under an enemy, and in an article of time when a body of the enemy was every day expected."⁴

The parliamentary troops on the other hand were

⁴ The superior discipline of the "army of Sectaries" is incidentally referred to by Clarendon in his account of the battle of Naseby. "That difference," he remarks, "was observed all along in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell (for it was only under them, and had never been remarkable under Essex or Waller), that, though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day;

which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edge Hill: whereas the other troops if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. All that the king and prince could do could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the field, though they often endeavoured it, with the manifest hazard of their own persons. So that in the end the king was compelled to quit the field, and to leave Fairfax master of all his foot, cannon, and baggage." v. 185.

CHAP. XII. distinguished by general sobriety, and a scrupulous reverence for religion. At the commencement of CHARLES I.

distinguished by a firm attachment to the cause they had espoused, and an unchangeable resolution to carry it to a successful issue. Cromwell's sagacity early detected the strength of the parliamentary cause, and he consequently appealed to the religious convictions and sympathies of his countrymen. "At his first entrance into the wars," Baxter tells us, "being but a captain of horse, he had an especial care to get religious men into his troop. These men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of the war; and making, not money, but that which they took for the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant."^t The same character attached to a very large portion of the officers and men who served against the king. They took a personal interest in the great questions that were at issue, and fought (whether correctly or not) under the full persuasion that they were discharging a solemn duty to God and to their country. The exercises of devotion were mingled with the tactics of war, and their camp alternately resounded with

^t Sylvester's Baxter, part i. 98. Whitelocke gives a similar account of Cromwell's troop. "He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen," says the memorialist, "most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who, upon matter of conscience, en-

gaged in this quarrel. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without, by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand firmly, and charge desperately." Memorials, 68.

the voice of praise and the shout of battle. Their minds were braced by long and ardent meditation on things invisible and divine, and they were consequently nerved with a more than mortal resolution. While their spirits were repressed by the timidity or caution of their leaders, they failed to achieve the purpose which animated their breasts; but when their religious zeal was permitted to burn unchecked, they swept the troops of Charles before them with a rapidity which astonished and bewildered the beholder. The calm observer of modern times is wholly incompetent to estimate the intensity of the passion which impelled their course, and mingled in strange confusion, the most touching appeals of religion, with the fiercest denunciations and the most martial bearing. “Come, my boys, my brave boys,” said old Major-general Skippon to his troops, when leading them to battle, “let us pray heartily, and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children; come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us.”^u It was by such exhortations that the officers of the parliament animated their soldiers, and aroused them to that pitch of daring which rendered them invincible. Their language was brief, but its allusions were irresistible. It addressed the ruling passion of the day; and, opening the fountains of deep feeling in the human heart, it enabled them to achieve their mightiest enterprizes. An opportunity will subsequently occur of noticing the growth

CHAP.
XII.CHARLES
I.

^u British Statesmen, vol. iii. Forster's Life of Hampden, 353.

CHAP. XII. of sectaries in the army, and the modification of character which thence resulted.^x

CHARLES I. The sagacity of Cromwell in urging a reorganization of the army, was speedily justified by the event. The royalists affected to despise the new levies, and the presbyterians regarded them with suspicion and dread.^y In the mean time Cromwell and his associates were vigorously employed in training them for victory, and the opportunity of achieving it speedily occurred. The taunts of their enemies fired the ardor of the troops, which was ably seconded by the personal courage and military skill of their leaders. The opposing armies met on Naseby field, and the issue of the struggle was fatal to the fortunes of Charles. In this memorable battle he lost 5000 men, 9000 stand of arms, and the whole of his artillery and baggage, together with his private cabinet.^z The fate of the monarchy was thus

June 14.
1645.

^x Baillie frequently complains, even before the new modelling of the army, of the growth of the independents and other sectaries among the troops. "The independents," he says, April 25, 1644, "having so managed their affairs, that of the officers and soldiers in Manchester's army, certainly also in the General's, and, as I hear, in Waller's likewise, more than the two parts are for them, and these of the far most resolute and confident men for the parliament party." ii. 5. Again, May 19, 1644: "We are advertised, that much more than the most part of my Lord Manchester's army are seduced to independency, and very many of them have added either anabaptism, or antinomianism, or both." 19.

^y "Their new modelled army," writes Baillie, April 25, 1645, "consists for the most part of raw, unexperienced, pressed, sol-

diers. Few of the officers a ; thought capable of their places many of them are sectaries, or their confident friends; if they do great service, many will be deceived. Some have great fears, not only of their designs to strengthen the party of the sectaries, so that it may not be safely displeased; but also of composing with the king, to the prejudice of us and all our friends here; yet I hope these fears are groundless." ii. 95. Again: "The huge imprudence and rashness of the new model is now visible." 106.

^z Rushworth, v. 42. White-locke, 145, 146. Baillie acknowledges that the victory of Naseby was won by the sectaries, and his exultation was consequently alloyed by anxiety. He urges his countrymen to hasten the march of their recruits, as the only counterpoise to the power of the independents. Letters, ii. 117.

Battle of
Naseby.

sealed, and the fortunes of the nation were transferred to the hands of the army. The Cavaliers never recovered the blow. Straggling parties continued a predatory war, but Charles and his advisers felt that their right arm was withered. The battle of Naseby established the power of Cromwell, and augmented vastly the influence of the independents. The presbyterians trembled at the prospect which it opened, and began to speculate on the future policy of their opponents. "What use the independent party may make of this very great and entire victory," says Baillie, "wherewith God has pleased to bless those counsels which they took against the mind of most here, and by appearance against all reason, we cannot yet say."^a

The rise of the baptismal controversy at Amsterdam, and the subsequent return, about 1614, of several baptists to England, have already been recorded.^b From that period their sentiments gradually prevailed, and churches professing them were formed. But the vigilance of Laud prevented their rapid increase. Their meetings were held in private, and their disciples were known only among themselves. So early as 1633 a church was formed in London under the pastoral care of Mr. John Spilsbury, the members of which were dismissed with commendable liberality from the independent church. The early extent of this society is unknown, but its numbers rapidly increased, and other similar associations were formed.^c The confusion which subsequently ensued when Laud was impeached, and episcopacy overturned, em-

CHAP.
XII.CHARLES
I.Growth of
the baptists.^a Letters, ii. 118.^b Vol. i. 494, 519.^c Crosby, i. 148.

CHAP. boldened the baptists to come forth from their retire-
XII. ment, and to proclaim, with unhesitating confidence,
CHARLES their distinguishing tenets. "Of late," says
I.

Dr. Featley, who regarded them as a compound of all the worst heresies that had ever troubled the church, "since the unhappy distractions which our sins have brought upon us, the temporal sword being otherwise employed, and the spiritual sword locked up fast in the scabbard, this sect, among others, hath so far presumed upon the patience of the state, that it hath held weekly conventicles, re-baptized hundreds of men and women together in the twilight in rivulets, and some arms of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and ears. It hath printed diverse pamphlets in defence of their heresy, yea, and challenged some of our preachers to disputation."^d

Dr. Featley himself engaged in a discussion with some members of this sect, October 17th, 1642, and the account which he subsequently published bears ample testimony to the virulence of his zeal, and to the rapid growth of the baptists. He says that they boasted of having forty-seven churches, and holds them up to the reprobation of his readers, for maintaining "That it is the will and command of God, that since the coming of his Son, the Lord Jesus, a permission of the most Pagan, Jewish, Turkish, or antichristian consciences, and worships, be granted to all men in all nations and countries; that civil states, with their officers of justice, are not governors or defenders of the spiritual and christian state and worship; that the doctrine of persecution, in case of

^d The Dippers Dipt.—Pref. to Reader.

conscience (maintained by Calvin, Beza, Cotton, and the ministers of New England), is guilty of all the blood of the souls crying for vengeance under CHARLES the altar." These sentiments will now be regarded as the honorable distinction of the rising sect; and might well have served to secure a candid construction of such parts of their conduct as appear to be questionable. That many of their teachers should have been illiterate, and some of their early proceedings indicative of an over-strained and intemperate zeal, were to be expected from the history of previous sects. These things may be regretted and condemned, without the general and sweeping censures in which some writers have indulged.^e

The presbyterians of this period declaimed against the baptists with all the virulence of party strife; and endeavoured to render them obnoxious to the suspicions and resentment of the legislature. An appeal was frequently made to the atrocities of Munster, and many flowers of rhetoric were employed in depicting the evils which would speedily inundate the land. The most exceptionable methods were taken to inflame the public mind against them, and but few were found sufficiently candid or well-informed to do justice to their cha-

^e The Dippers Dipt.—Ep. Dedicatory.

^f It is not unnatural for the advocates of a doctrine or ceremony, supposed to be neglected, to exaggerate its importance; and in proportioning their zeal to its imagined claims, to overstep the bounds of propriety and candor. But such an admission constitutes no defence of the prejudiced coloring which has been spread

over the character and proceedings of the early baptists. The separation of the baptist and independent bodies is greatly to be deplored; while the jealousy, mistrust, and unhallowed contention to which it has given rise, is dis honorable to both parties. May not the hope be indulged that the time will yet come, when this most needless and unjustifiable division shall cease.

CHAP. racter. Lord Brook, however, in his Treatise on
XII. Episcopacy, showed his superiority to vulgar preju-
CHARLES dice, by pleading for a more charitable treatment
I. of his countrymen. Having severely censured the Munster sect, his lordship remarks, “ There is another sect of them, who only deny baptism to their children till they come to the years of discretion, and then they baptize them ; but in other things they agree with the church of England. Truly these men are much to be pitied, and I could heartily wish, that before they are stigmatized with the opprobrious brand of schismatics, the truth might be cleared to them ; for I conceive, to those that hold we may go no further than Scripture for doctrine or discipline, it may be very easy to err in this point now in hand, since the Scripture seems not to have clearly determined in this matter.”^g

Richard Baxter was early acquainted with the baptists, and was deeply prejudiced against them, yet his account sufficiently shows that much of their intemperance is attributable to the severity of their treatment. “ Whilst I was at Gloucester,” says this estimable man, “ I saw the first contentions between the ministers and anabaptists that ever I was acquainted with ; for these were the first anabaptists that ever I had seen in any country, and I heard but of few more in those parts of England. About a dozen young men, or more, of considerable parts, had received the opinion against infant baptism, and were re-baptized, and laboured to draw others after them, not far from Gloucester ; and the minister of the place, Mr. Winnel, being hot and impatient

^g Brook’s Episcopacy.—Quoted by Crosby, i. 166.

with them, hardened them the more. He wrote a considerable book against them at that time; but England having then no great experience of the tendency and consequents of anabaptists, the people that were not of their opinion did but pity them, and think it was a conceit that had no great harm in it, and blamed Mr. Winnel for his violence and asperity towards them.”^b

CHAP.
XII.CHARLES
I.

^b Sylvester's Baxter, part i. 41. Neal's account of the baptists is among the least creditable portions of his work. He relies upon the testimony of their enemies, and does not scruple to avail himself of their worst invectives. An examination of the connexion of some of his authorities would be amusing, were it not painful to see a mind, generally candid and upright, so swerved by party prejudices. A single instance of this will suffice for an illustration. “The advocates of this doctrine,” he says, “were, for the most part, of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the country making proselytes of all who would submit to immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion or their moral character. The writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastic fury against all that opposed them.” iii. 135. This, it must be acknowledged, is a sufficiently dark picture, and Baxter is adduced in support of it. But the connexion of the passage referred to by Mr. Neal, ought to have satisfied him that it should be received with considerable deductions, for the “church divisions and separations” of which the honest but prejudiced Baxter is speaking, are said to have been “begun and

carried far on” by the five dissenting brethren. “Mr. Burroughs being dead,” he adds, “Dr. John Owen arose, not of the same spirit, to fill up his place; by whom, and Mr. Philip Nye's policy, the flames were increased, our wounds kept open, and carried on all, as if there had been none but they considerable in the world. Oh, what may not pride do? and what miscarriages will not false principles and faction hide? One would think that if their opinions had been certainly *true*, and their church orders *good*, yet the interest of Christ, and the souls of men, and of greater truths, should have been so regarded by the dividers in England, as that the safety of all these should have been preferred, and not all ruined, rather than their sway should want its carnal arm and liberty; and that they should not tear the garment of Christ all to pieces, rather than it should want their lace.” Life, part i. 103.

Now it was scarcely consistent with candor or fair dealing, to pass over all these grave charges against the one body, and to cull out a few strong terms in which the other is reprobated. In the very next sentence to that which Neal quotes, Baxter implicates the sectaries at large in his censure, though nothing of the sort would be suspected from the

CHAP. Baxter's deliberate estimate of this sect is subsequently recorded, and it forms a pleasing illustration of the native charity of his heart. "And for

XII.

CHARLES I. the anabaptists," he remarks, "(though I have written and said so much against them) as I found that most of them were persons of zeal in religion, so many of them were sober, godly people, and differed from others but in the point of infant baptism, or, at most, in the points of predestination and free will and perseverance."¹ When the spirit of the age, and the hatred borne to the parties are considered, this testimony will be regarded as no mean praise.

Publish a
Confession of
Faith.
1643.

The injuries sustained from the misrepresentations of their enemies, induced the seven churches in London to publish in 1643 a *Confession of Faith*, "for the vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant; likewise for the taking off those aspersions which are frequently, both in pulpit and print, cast upon them." It consists of fifty-two articles, and is drawn up with considerable judgment and clearness. Its doctrines are calvinistic, and the form of church government advocated is strictly congregational. Magistracy is declared to be "an ordinance of God," and the lawfulness of oaths is affirmed. On the much-disputed point of liberty of conscience, the most explicit language is

statement of the former. "The sectaries," he says, "(especially the anabaptists, seekers, and the quakers), chose out the most able, zealous ministers, to make the marks of their reproach and obloquy." Life, 103. I regret the

necessity for these remarks on a historian, whose general liberality and uprightness are highly commendable.

¹ Sylvester's Baxter, part ii. 240.

employed. "It is the magistrate's duty," say the subscribers, "to tender the liberty of men's consciences, (which is the tenderest thing unto all conscientious men, and the most dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much less enjoying), and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppression, and molestation." "We desire," it is added in the *Conclusion*, "to give unto Christ that which is his, and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment soever) as we would they should do unto us, that as our practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscientiable, quiet, and harmless people (no ways dangerous or troublesome to human society) and to labour and work with our hands, that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friends and enemies, accounting it more blessed to give than to receive. Also, we confess that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part to show us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them; but if any man shall impose upon us any thing that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in his strength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be stript of all outward comforts, and if it were possible, to die a thousand deaths, rather than to do

CHAP.
XII.CHARLES
I.

CHAP. XII. any thing against the least tittle of the truth of God,
or against the light of our own consciences.”^k

CHARLES

I.

^k Featley refers to this Confession in terms worthy of a mean and narrow mind. “If we give credit,” he says, “to this confession, and the practice thereof, those who among us are branded with that title, are neither heretics nor schismatics, but tender-hearted Christians; upon whom, through false suggestions, the hand of authority fell heavy, whilst the Hierarchy stood: for they neither teach free will, nor falling away from grace with the Arminians, nor deny original sin with the Pelagians, nor disclaim magistracy with the Jesuits, nor maintain plurality of wives with the Polygamists, nor community of goods with the Apostolici, nor going naked with the Adamites; much less aver the mortality of the soul with Epicurus and Psychophaunchists, and to this pur-

pose they have published this confession of their faith. Of which I may truly say, as St. Hilary doth of that of the Arians, ‘*They offer to the unlearned their fair cup full of venom, anointing the brim with the honey of sweet and holy words; they thrust in store of true positions, that, together with them, they may juggle in the venom of their falsehood!*’ they cover a little rat’s-bane in a great quantity of sugar, that it may not be discovered.’ Dippers Dipt, p. 177. Mr. Neal has strangely overlooked the latter part of this extract, and consequently falls into the mistake of affirming, that when Featley “had read this confession, he owned they (the baptists) were neither heretics, nor schismatics, but tender-hearted Christians.” iii. 134.

CHAPTER XIII.

Presbyterians opposed to Toleration—Sentiments of their principal writers—Prynne—Calamy—Baxter—Edwards—London Clergy—Lancashire Clergy—Scotch Commissioners—Lay Preaching forbidden—Ordinance respecting Ordination—Ordinance for suspension from the Lord's Supper—Assembly and Parliament opposed on the question of Divine Right—Presbyterianism established on trial—Dis-satisfaction of the Assembly and Commissioners—An accommodation with the King urged—London Petition against Sectaries—Counter Petition—Scots' negotiations with the King—Treaty of Newcastle—King recurs to the Presbyterians—Scotch Army voted unnecessary—King delivered up to Parliament.

WHILE these important events were transpiring, CHAP.
XIII. the Parliament and Assembly were engaged in CHARLES
I. the discussion of some ecclesiastical schemes, which still further elicited the sentiments and called forth the strength of parties. The enforcement of the Covenant, and the adoption of the Directory, had greatly emboldened the Presbyterians; who regarded these measures as an earnest of the speedy establishment of their whole system. In the Assembly, therefore, where their majority was overwhelming, they urged forward their views with a zeal which alarmed their opponents, and led to an organized resistance that long kept them in check, and ultimately accomplished their defeat. On the 13th September, 1644, the Commons adopted an order addressed to a committee of the two houses, directing them to take into considera-
Presbyterians
opposed to
toleration.

CHAP. tion the differences of opinion existing amongst
 XIII. the members of the Assembly, in order to an union
 CHARLES if possible. "And in case," say the Commons,

I. "that cannot be done, to endeavour the finding out some way *how far tender consciences*, who cannot in all things submit to the same rule, which shall be established, may be borne with according to the Word, and as may stand with the public peace." The Presbyterians insisted on no steps being taken by this committee, till the Assembly had completed a draught of church government; and when its sittings were renewed on the 17th November 1645, they steadfastly rejected the very moderate plan of toleration which the Independents proposed. Refusing to entertain the question of accommodation till the Assembly and the legislature had adopted their views, they then rejected the prayer of those brethren who, dissenting from their scheme, requested permission to worship God in consonance with their own convictions.^a By this hollow and intolerant course they gained a temporary triumph, but defeated their ultimate purpose. Had they yielded to the reasonable request of the Independents, the supremacy of the army might have been prevented, and the civil liberties of the nation have been established on an imperishable basis. But, by an opposite course, they threw the sectaries—as all dissenters from their policy were opprobriously styled—into the arms of the soldiery; and thus gave to the latter a moral weight and influence

^a Papers given into the Committee for Accommodation. Baillie loudly complains of the appointment of this Committee;

and discloses the dark policy by which the Presbyterians sought to defeat its design. Letters ii. pp. 57, 63, 66, 91, 168, 172.

which enabled them to crush the Parliament.^b The only alternative left to the assertors of civil liberty, was to counterpoise the power of the presbyterians by that of the army. The danger thus incurred has been proved by the event to be great; but it need not awaken surprise, that men should have sought relief from a present and grievous evil, at the hazard of one that was distant and undefined. Nor must it be forgotten, in order to a correct appreciation of their conduct, that the army was yet submissive to the Parliament, and its officers free from those ambitious views by which their patriotism was ultimately eclipsed.

A large portion of the community refused to comply with the requisitions of presbytery, and promulgated their objections through the press. The conflict of opinion was severe and acrimonious. The one party demanded toleration, and assailed with invincible arguments the coercive system of their opponents; while the other party entrenched themselves behind the precedents of Jewish history, and the perverse logic of the school of antichrist. Both conducted the controversy as a question of

^b Baillie, speaking of the propositions of the Independents in the Committee for Accommodation, says, "They plead for a toleration to other sects as well as to themselves; and with much ado could we get them to propose what we desired to themselves. At last they gave us a paper, requiring expressly a full toleration of congregations in their way every where, separate from ours. In our answer we flatly denied such a vast liberty, and backed it with reasons, and withal we began to show what indulgence we

could, for peace sake, grant. Here Mr. Marshall our chairman has been their most diligent agent to draw too many of us to grant them much more than my heart can yield to, and which to my power I oppose." "We have had," he remarks in another letter, "many bickerings with the Independents in the grand Committee about the indulgence for their separate congregations. . . . For this point, both they and we contend *tanquam pro aris et focis.*" Letters ii. 172, 174.

CHAP.
XIII.CHARLES
I.

CHAP. life and death ;—they disputed like men who
XIII. struggle *tanquam pro aris et focis*. Uniformity was
CHARLES the Diana of the Presbyterians ; whilst liberty of

I. worship, and the sacredness of conscience, were the watchwords of the Independents. The position assumed by the former was singularly inconsistent and blame-worthy. The fiery trial through which they had passed, from the time of Cartwright, might have been expected to enlarge and liberalize their views. They had tasted the bitter fruits of persecution, and should have learnt the folly and wickedness of employing force in aid of religious doctrines and rites. But all their sufferings had been in vain, and they consequently became on the overthrow of the bishops, the fierce and open advocates of intolerance. They were for the most part men of unblemished morals, and of ardent piety ; but their ecclesiastical views were based on the same principles, and characterized by the same spirit, as those of Laud. So paradoxical is human nature, and so unsafe is power in the hands even of Christian men. Could it ever have been preserved from abuse by the personal virtues of its administrators, it would have been so in the case of the Presbyterians ; but the false principles on which a State Church is founded, rendered them, in the day of their secular prosperity—as it has uniformly rendered every other class of religionists—the oppressors and persecutors of their brethren.

Sentiments
of their prin-
cipal writers.

Prynne.

Numerous publications were issued by this party, denouncing toleration as the greatest curse which could afflict the church, and calling upon the legislature to enforce a covenant uniformity. Prynne was foremost in this inglorious contest. Forgetful

of his own sufferings, he transferred to the cause of intolerance the same zeal, intrepidity, and unwearied diligence, as had distinguished him in a better service. His publications were numerous; and all were directed to the one great end of his party,—the suppression of sects, and the triumph of presbytery. “Up, therefore,” said the fiery advocate of the covenant, in one of his addresses to parliament, “and be doing justice to some few chief offenders, of this kind for the present, to prevent execution upon many others, if not ruin on us all, for the future, and God himself will no doubt be with you,—and not fear what flesh can do unto you, or sectaries speak or write against you.”^c

The same course was enforced by the most celebrated presbyterian divines, in their discourses before parliament. “If you do not labour,” said Calamy, one of the most eminent of them, in a sermon, preached before the Commons, October 22, 1644, “according to your duty and power, to suppress the *errors* and *heresies* that are spread in the kingdom; all those errors are your errors, and those heresies are your heresies; they are your sins, and God calls for a parliamentary repentance from you for them this day. You are the Anabaptists, you are the Antinomians, and ‘tis you that hold that all religions are to be tolerated.”^d

So prevalent were these sentiments, that even Baxter, the advocate of catholic communion, and of much that was primitive in Christianity, discarded an unlimited toleration, as the scourge and

^c A fresh discovery of some prodigious new wandering—blast—ing stars,&c. Ep. Dedicatory, 1645.

^d Crosby, i. 176.

CHAP.
XIII.

CHARLES
I.

Richard
Baxter.

CHAP. ruin of the church. "My judgment," says this
 XIII. most estimable man, "in that much debated point
 CHARLES of liberty of religion, I have always freely made
 l. known, and abhor unlimited toleration, or toleration
 at all."^e

Edwards,

But the most unscrupulous and violent advocate of persecution was Thomas Edwards, minister of Christ Church, London. His "Gangraena" is one of the most singular productions of the human mind ; and leaves no room to regret the short-lived supremacy of his party.^f

Edwards was perfectly furious in his philippics against the sectaries ; and knew neither conscience nor moderation in the measures which he counselled for their suppression. "This land," he says, referring to the varieties of opinion which prevailed, "is already in many places a *chaos*, a *Babel*, another *Amsterdam*, yea, worse, we are beyond that, and in the high way to *Munster*, (if God prevent it not), but if a general toleration should be granted, so much written and stood for, England would quickly become a *Sodom*, an *Egypt*, *Babylon*, yea, worse than all these. Certainly, as it would be the most provoking sin against God that ever parliament was guilty of in this kingdom, like to that of Jeroboam, to cut it off and to destroy it from the face of the earth ; so it would prove the cause and fountain of all kind of damnable heresies and blasphemies, loose and ungodly practices, and unnatural divisions in families and churches. It would destroy all religion ; and as polytheism among the heathen

^e Plain Scripture Proof of Infant's Church Membership. p. 246.

^f Edwards was the author of

several other treatises similar in character and style. Non-Conformists' Plea, &c. p. 8.

brought in atheism, so would many religions bring
in none among us.

“A toleration is the grand design of the devil, CHARLES
is the master piece and chief engine he works by at
this time, to uphold his tottering kingdom ; it is the
most compendious, ready, and sure way to destroy
all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evils ;
it is a most transcendent, catholic, and fundamental
evil for this kingdom, of any that can be imagined ;
as original sin is the most fundamental sin—all sin,
having the seed and spawn of all in it ; so a *tolera-*
tion hath all errors in it, and all evils ; it is against
the whole stream and current of Scripture, both in
the old and new Testament, both in matters of faith
and manners, both general and particular com-
mands, it overthrows all relations, both political,
ecclesiastical, and economical ; and whereas other
evils, whether errors of judgment or practice, be
but against some one or few places of Scripture, or
relation ; this is against all, this is the *Abaddon,*
Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the abomi-
nation of desolation and astonishment, the liberty
of perdition (as Austin calls it) and therefore the
devil follows it night and day, working mightily in
many, by writing books for it, and other ways, all
the devils in hell and their instruments being at
work to promote a *toleration.*”^g

^g *Gangræna*, part i. pp. 58, 59.
Edwards’s Book was approved by
his brethren generally. His
judgment, we are told by the
author of “The Non-Conformists’
Plea for Uniformity,” has not
only the approbation and recom-
mendation of Mr. James Craw-
ford printed with the same book,
but of a large number of Minis-
ters from all parts of the nation,

very largely expressed in their
several letters, sent to him, the
said Mr. Edwards, and still re-
maining upon record in the
second and third parts of his
Gangræna : so that what he has
written in this particular is not to
be looked upon as his own single
judgment, but as the judgment
of very many others, signified by
his pen.” p. 6.

CHAP.
XIII.
CHARLES I.
London
Clergy,
1645.

These sentiments were not confined to individuals. Associated bodies of the clergy eagerly pressed forward to avow them, and did their utmost to induce the legislature to adopt corresponding measures. Those of London met at Sion College, December 18, 1645, and drew up a letter to the Westminster Assembly, which was presented on the 10th of January, towards the close of which they say, “These are some of the many considerations which make a deep impression on our spirits against that great *Diana of Independents*, and all the *Sectaries*, so much cried up by them in these distracted times, viz. a *toleration!* a *toleration!* We cannot dissemble, how, upon the forementioned grounds, we detest and abhor the much endeavoured *toleration*. Our bowels, our bowels are stirred within us, and we could even drown ourselves in tears, when we call to mind how long and sharp a travail this kingdom hath been in for many years together, to bring forth that blessed fruit of a pure and perfect *reformation*; and now at last after all our pangs, and dolours, and expectations, this real and thorough *reformation* is in danger of being strangled in the birth by a lawless *toleration*, that strives to be brought forth before it.”^h

1647.

The London clergy subsequently published their sentiments to the world, in a treatise entitled “A testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to our solemn League and Covenant; as also against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them.” Fifty-eight subscribed their names to this publication, December,

^h A Letter of the Ministers of the city of London, &c. p. 6.

1647, in which they say, “ If this toleration shall be entertained among us, the righteous God of heaven and earth will be provoked to plague us yet seven times more, and at last to translate his very gospel and kingdom (which is England’s only glory) from us unto another nation. Therefore, upon these considerations, we, the ministers of Jesus Christ, do hereby testify to all our flocks, to all the kingdom, and to all the reformed churches, as our great dislike of *Prelacy, Erastianism, Brownism, and Independency*; so our utter abhorrency of *Antiscripturism, Popery, Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, Libertinism, and Familism*, with all such like, now too rife amongst us, and that we detest the forementioned *toleration*, so much pursued and endeavoured in this kingdom, accounting it unlawful and pernicious. And whosoever they be that shall presume in any respects to make themselves accessory thereunto, and the mischiefs that will inevitably follow thereupon; yet, for our own parts, we hope that both in the court of heaven and our own consciences, before God and them we shall be reputed guiltless.”ⁱ

To these sentiments of the London clergy their brethren in the country zealously responded. Eighty-four of those in Lancashire published “The Harmonious Consent of all the Ministers of the province, &c., with their reverend brethren the Ministers of the province of London, in their late testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ,” in which they tell us, “A toleration would be the putting of

Lancashire
Clergy.

CHAP. a sword into a mad-man's hands—a cup of poison
 XIII. into the hand of a child ; a letting loose of mad-
 CHARLES men with firebrands in their hands ; an appointing
 I. a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil
 to fly to ; a laying of a stumbling block before the
 blind ; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come
 into Christ's fold to prey upon the Lamb ; a toleration
 of soul murder, (the greatest murder of all),
 and for the establishing whereof damned souls in
 hell would accuse men on earth. Neither would it
 be to provide for tender consciences, but to take
 away all conscience. If evil be suffered, it will
 not suffer good ; if error be not forcibly kept under,
 it will be superior.”^k

Scotch Com-
missioners.

The Scottish Commissioners, deputed to aid the English parliament in the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs, fanned the flame of intolerance, and protested, on the behalf of their nation and kirk, against the toleration of sectaries. “We do,” said these zealous abettors of persecution, “from our very souls abhor such a general toleration. And if the Houses (which God forbid) should adhere thereunto, and insist that it may be established, we do protest against it ; as that which is expressly contrary to the word of God, utterly repugnant to the solemn League and Covenant, destructive to reformation and uniformity in religion, altogether inconsistent with the declarations and professions of the Houses, against the treaty between the kingdoms, directly opposite to the example and practice of the best reformed churches, and as that which will unavoidably subvert all

^k Non-Conformists' Plea, &c. p. 4.

order and government, and introduce a world of CHAP.
confusion. Our minds are astonished, and our CHARLES
bowels are moved within us, when we think of the I.
bitter fruits and sad consequences of such a tolera-
tion.”¹

Similar evidence of the intolerance and bigotry of the Presbyterians might be adduced, to an indefinite extent; but enough has been advanced to exemplify the spirit of the sect. The truth of history required so much;—it would be wearisome and disgusting to pursue the subject further.

The arrangements that were made respecting Lay
ordination, constituted another triumph of the pres-
byterian party. The prevalence of lay preaching,
which naturally grew out of the disordered
state of affairs, was regarded with strong disap-
probation; and an attempt was made to suppress
it, by an ordinance which directed “that no person
shall be permitted to preach, who is not ordained a
minister either in this or some other reformed
church, except such (as intending the ministry)
shall be allowed for the trial of their gifts by those
who shall be appointed thereunto by both houses of
parliament.” Sir Thomas Fairfax, and all other
military commanders, were required to see to the
execution of this ordinance; and all civil officers,
together with the county committees, were com-
manded to do the same, taking care to “make
speedy representation to both Houses of such as
shall offend herein, that they may receive condign
punishment.”^m

¹ Answer of the Commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, &c. London, 1647.

^m Husband ii. 645.

CHAP.
XIII.
CHARLES
I.

An ordinance was subsequently issued, giving a parliamentary sanction to the rules for ordination, drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, and which tended greatly to confirm and extend the influence of presbyterianism. The party soliciting ordination was to furnish the presbytery with testimonials of his having taken the Covenant, of his proficiency in learning, and of his academical degree. His religious character, and ministerial qualifications, were to be subjected to examination ; and an opportunity was to be afforded the people, over whom he was to preside, to judge of “ his gifts for their edification.” Episcopal ordination, together with that of the Scotch, and of other reformed churches, was to be allowed ; and the operation of the ordinance was expressly limited to one year.ⁿ Thus the Parliament endeavoured to feel its way to a better state of things. Society was not yet ripe for a matured and permanent form of church polity, and the guides of public opinion were therefore content to institute a temporary and tentative system. By this means they guarded against the complete ascendancy of presbyterianism, and kept the way open for that more equitable and catholic creed of which they were the zealous supporters. Parliament was greatly in advance of the Assembly ; and its policy, therefore, was to delay or frustrate the measures on which the latter was intent.

One of the points on which they differed, was the right of exclusion from the Lord’s Supper. The Assembly claimed this right, as necessary to the

Ordinance
respecting
Ordination.

Nov. 8.

ⁿ Rushworth, v. 212—215. Neal, Appendix 9.

purity of the Christian church ; while the Parliament demurred to it as a dangerous privilege, which might greatly increase the power of spiritual men. CHARLES I.

Parliamentary ordinance for suspension from the Lord's Supper.

"I have heard," said a member of the lower house, "many complaints of the jurisdiction formerly exercised by the prelates, who were but a few ; there will be by the passing of this now desired, a great multiplication of spiritual men in government. Where the temporal sword (the magistracy) is sufficient for punishment of offences, there will be little need for this new discipline."^o An ordinance, however, was ultimately published by the two houses, which empowered the "several elderships, within their respective bounds, to suspend from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper all ignorant and scandalous persons," according to certain rules which were laid down. But the power thus conferred on the clergy was greatly limited by the provisions attached to the ordinance. All persons aggrieved by any sentence of the presbytery, were empowered to appeal to the classical eldership, thence to the provincial assembly, afterwards to the national, and finally to parliament itself. The presbytery was prohibited from interfering with the administration of criminal justice, or from taking cognizance of any merely secular matters ; and the power of adding to the catalogue of scandalous offences contained in the ordinance, was vested in such members of the two houses—or in any seven of them—as belonged to the Westminster Assembly.^p These restrictions were far from being acceptable to the Presbyterians, who were especially

^o Whitelocke, 164.^p Rushworth v. 210—212.

CHAP. XIII. offended by the subjection of the spiritual to the civil power, implied in an appeal from the CHARLES assembly to parliament. But the latter, instead I. of yielding to their clamor, bound them still more strictly, by an ordinance appointing commissioners to be chosen in every county, to whom the determinations of the presbyteries were to be referred, prior to their being carried before parliament. In the case of scandalous offences committed "upon the day of the administration of the Sacrament, in the face of the congregation after it is assembled," the minister was empowered to suspend from the Lord's Supper for that time; but the name of the guilty party, and the nature of his offence, were to be reported to the commissioners within eight days, who, after an examination of the case, were to report to parliament, with whom the final determination rested.^q Against this arrangement the Presbyterians protested with their customary violence; representing it as destructive of the supremacy of Christ, and incompatible with the faithful discharge of ministerial duty. But the Parliament refused to depart from its cautious and moderate policy, and the course of events speedily changed the aspect of affairs.^r

^q Rushworth v. 224—228.

^r "The Sectarian party," says Baillie, March 6, 1646, "is very malicious and powerful. They have carried the House of Commons, and are like also to carry the House of Lords, to spoil much our church government. They have passed an ordinance, not only for an appeal from the general Assembly to the parliament, for two ruling elders, for one minister in every church meet-

ing, for no censure except in such offences as they have enumerated; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been laboring this month by gone, a court of civil commissioners in every county, to whom the congregational elderships must bring all cases not enumerated, to be reported by them, with their judgment, to the parliament or their committee. This is a trick of the Independent invention, of pur-

March 14,
1646.

In the meantime the Assembly was employed with the question of church government; which brought up the much-litigated dogma of divine right. This claim was now advanced by the presbyterians, on behalf of their system; and was ultimately adopted by a large majority of the Westminster divines. But the sanction of parliament was yet to be obtained; and here the Independents and Erastians determined to renew the battle of religious freedom. The presbyterians early mustered their forces, with the intention of taking the House by surprise; but Glyn and Whitelocke opposed the design in speeches of great length, and thus afforded time for their party to assemble. The result of the debate was unfavorable to the presbyterians, and greatly incensed the Scots commissioners, and their English adherents.^s The latter now turned to the city authorities as their only hope; and prevailed with the common council to petition the lower house, that the presbyterian discipline, as that which divine authority enjoined, might be established: but the Commons replied, "that the citizens must have been misinformed of the proceedings of the House, or else they would not have precipitated the judgment of parliament." The London clergy subsequently petitioned; but were told by the Speaker, in language which sufficiently indicated the change that was taking

pose to enervate and disgrace all our government, in which they have been assisted by the lawyers and the Erastian party. This troubles us exceedingly. The whole Assembly and Ministry

over the kingdom, the body of the city are grieved with it; but how to help it we cannot well tell." Letters ii. 194.

^t Whitelocke, 106.

The assembly
and parlia-
ment differ on
the question
of divine
right.

Nov. 15.

CHARLES I. **CHAP. XIII.** place, “they need not wait for an answer, but go home, and look to the charges of their several congregations.” Failing in their hope of shaking the resolution of the Commons, they next appealed to the Lords, complaining of the increase of sects, and praying for the speedy settlement of church government. But though their lordships received them respectfully, and avowed unaltered attachment to the Covenant, little was done to meet their views.^t

There was no difference among the leading parties of the day, respecting the system which should be established. The presbyterian was the most numerous and powerful, and to that the preference was accordingly given. The Independents offered no objection to this arrangement; but merely asked that the principle on which it was effected should not needlessly reflect on their system, and should be sufficiently liberal to secure toleration to others. This was the practical question which engaged their deepest interest, and to the maintenance of which they addressed themselves with singular intrepidity and wisdom. Having deprived their opponents—so far as present circumstances permitted—of the power of abusing the civil distinctions which they sought, they offered no resistance to their temporary ascendancy.

Presbyterianism established on trial.

The parliament, however, proceeded slowly, and with evident reluctance. It was resolved by both houses, August 19th, 1645, that Elders should be chosen throughout England, with a view of providing the machinery of ecclesiastical government.

^t Neal iii. 241. Parl. Hist. iii. 422.

Little appears to have been done in pursuance of this vote ; and the correspondence of the Scotch parliament, with the two houses at Westminster, CHARLES I. betrays in consequence growing dissatisfaction. Numerous letters were received from the former, deprecating the toleration of sects, and praying the English parliament to proceed to the settlement of church affairs. In one of these, dated February 10, 1646, the committee of the Scotch parliament adopt an imperious and somewhat threatening tone, in which they were encouraged by the position of public affairs. “ A directory,” say they, “ for the worship of God is agreed upon in the Assembly, and authorized by both kingdoms, and practised carefully by this church ; but the *service book* is still retained in some places of England under the Parliament’s power, and the Directory very much slighted, and by some avowedly written against. Instead of the intended unity in religion, blasphemous errors, heresies, sects, and schisms, are increased and multiplied through the want of church government. . . . Some commissioners from this kirk have attended the Assembly of Divines for the space of two years and a half ; and long ago the Assembly have offered their advice to both houses, yet can we hear nothing of the settling of a government ; but upon the contrary, of a real growth of all sects and errors, and of great endeavours for toleration thereof ; which maketh us, and this church and kingdom, who cannot understand where the difficulty and obstruction lieth, to wonder at so long a delay.”^u

^u Rushworth v. 236.

CHAP. The two houses now proceeded, on the 20th Febr.
XIII. ruary, to renew their vote of the previous August,
CHARLES and to resolve that it be “immediately put in due
I. execution.”^x An ordinance was accordingly issued,

March 14th, which, after adverting to the difficulties that parliament had had to struggle with, recapitulated what it had done towards the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, and then proceeded to lay down a variety of directions for the choice of elders, and the future government of the hierarchy.^y Every church was assigned its congregational or parochial presbytery, for the management of its own affairs. These were combined into classes, the representatives of which constituted the provincial presbyteries; above which, and formed by a delegation from them, was the national. A series of ecclesiastical courts, gradually rising above each other in influence and authority, was thus arranged; but the ultimate decision in all cases was reserved to parliament. This system was avowedly tentative. There was nothing fixed or immutable in it. Whatever perfection the divines and lay zealots of the presbyterian party might attribute to their polity, the parliament was too sagacious to pledge itself to its permanent support. The probability of alteration was distinctly though cautiously avowed, in the very document which called the system into existence. “It cannot be expected,” said the parliamentary ordinance, “that a present rule in every particular should be settled all at once, but there will be need of supplements and additions, and haply also of alterations in some

^x Rushworth v. 224.

^y Ibid. 224. 228.

things, as experience shall bring to light the necessity thereof." So cautious was parliament at the very time it was making the largest concession to the enemies of religious freedom. The state of parties did not permit it to withhold the boon, but the door was wisely kept open for future alteration and improvement.

The moderation of parliament was fatal to the reception of their scheme. The presbyterians had fully calculated on a legal sanction being given to their claim of divine right, and were therefore incensed beyond measure at the cautious phraseology of the parliamentary ordinance, and the restrictions which it imposed. A petition was prepared by the Westminster Assembly, and presented to the Commons March 23rd, in which they venture to criminate the proceedings of the two houses, declaring "That the provision of commissioners to judge of scandal, not enumerated, appears to their consciences to be so contrary to that way of government which Christ hath appointed in his church, and to be in many respects so disagreeable to the Covenant, that they dare not practise according to that provision." The commissioners and parliament are in consequence excluded from all right to judge of cases of scandal, which are expressly affirmed to "belong to the several elderships by divine right, and by the will and appointment of Christ." This petition was voted a breach of privilege; and a committee was appointed, to communicate to the Assembly the sense which the House entertained of their intrusive and illegal demeanor. A series of questions pertaining to the *jus divinum* of church government, was also drawn

CHAP.
XIII.CHARLES
I.Dissatisfac-
tion of the
Assembly
and Scotch
Commis-
sioners:

CHAP. up by the Commons, to be submitted by their com-
XIII. mittee to the Assembly. These questions were
CHARLES skilfully framed, and were obviously designed to
I.

furnish occupation, if not to occasion differences, amongst the divines. It was the object of parliament to keep these zealots employed, till the condition of public affairs enabled them to dictate in firmer tones, both to the Scottish army and to their English abettors. The King was now besieged in Oxford, without the slightest hope of being able to make good his defence. Speculation was therefore rife as to the course he would adopt. One day he was reported to be on his way to London, and the next he was said to be in friendly correspondence with the Scots. It was evident that a few weeks, at the most, must determine his policy ; and the parliamentary leaders were desirous, in the mean time, of keeping terms with the presbyterians. Still they were firm in the maintenance of their position ; and the Assembly becoming alarmed at their language, appointed the 6th of May to be observed as a day of fasting and humiliation.^z

The Scottish commissioners in London were equally forward with the Assembly, in entering their protest against the parliamentary enactment. They urged several amendments, adapted to strengthen the hands of the clergy, and to release them from the supervision of the civil power ; expressing at the same time their great sorrow “that after so solemn a covenant, and so many protestations and declarations, the reformation of religion should so long stick, and be so much obstructed.”

^z Rushworth iii. 260. Parl. Hist. iii. 459—463. Neal iii. 252—255.

These objections were coupled with several propositions respecting the conduct of civil affairs, which were couched in a tone of authority highly displeasing to the English parliament.^a To these papers the Commons replied, in *A Declaration of their true intentions respecting the ancient and fundamental government of the Kingdom, the government of the Church, &c.*, in which they indignantly complain of the aspersions cast upon them, and renew their pledge “to settle religion in the purity thereof, according to the Covenant.” They avow their unwillingness to grant “an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatures,” demanded in a way not consistent with the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and subversive of the just power of parliament. “It must therefore,” say the Commons, “seem very strange to us, if any sober and modest men should entertain a thought that we should settle no government in the church, when our unwillingness to subject ourselves and the people of this land to this rash power, has been a great cause that the government has not been long since established. And we desire it may be observed, that we have had the more reason, by no means to part with this power out of

CHAP.
XIII.CHARLES
I.

April 17.

^a Rushworth v. 253—257. Whitelocke 206. Before an answer could be prepared, the four papers of the Scots Commissioners were printed, for general circulation, with an anonymous preface; which was highly resented by Parliament. The two houses held a conference respecting it; and it was ultimately resolved, that the preface, as containing “matters scandalous and false,” should

be burnt by the common hangman. “It was not without some ground of suspicion,” says Whitelocke, in which he is supported by Rushworth, “that some of the Scotch Commissioners themselves encouraged, if not appointed, the printing of this book, which caused the more sharpness in diverse towards it.” Memorials 207. Rushworth v. 257. Parl. Hist. iii. 453—455.

CHAP. XIII. the hands of the civil magistrate, since the experience of all ages will manifest, that the reformation CHARLES and purity of religion, and the preservation and

I. protection of the people of this kingdom, hath under God been by the parliaments, and their exercise of this power." . . " Whence," it is added, "it may appear to all men, that those rumors and aspersions, whereby the minds of men are so disturbed, for the want of the present settling of church government, are to be applied to those who, having a sufficient power and direction from the houses on that behalf, have not as yet put the same in execution."^b

An accommodation with the king urged by the Commissioners.

Failing in all their efforts to subdue the resolution of the Commons, the Scotch now urged an accommodation with the King, in which they were powerfully supported by the whole body of English presbyterians.^c The condition of Charles was pitiable in the extreme. The victorious army of the parliament swept the kingdom, and reduced his fortresses in rapid succession. He himself was in danger of being enclosed in Oxford, where the cabals of his own party greatly added to his disquietude and danger. But the infatuated monarch, though reduced and helpless, still calculated on regaining power through the internal divisions of his foes. He well knew, and endeavoured to foment, their differences; and his confidence in the success of these intrigues proved his ruin. He ad-

^b Rushworth v. 257—260.

^c "The Scots," says Clarendon, "were grieved and enraged to see their idol presbytery so undervalued and slighted, that besides the Independents' power in the

city, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost credit and authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a treaty for peace." Hist. of Rebel. v. 338.

dressed himself both to the independents and to the presbyterians ; urging on the former the intolerant pretensions of the latter, and setting before the latter the dangers to be apprehended from the sectarianism of the former. The King misjudged his own position. He reasoned as though he were master of the fortunes of his opponents ; and evinced, in consequence, an obstinacy and self-will which proved fatal to his interests. “Let them never flatter themselves so with their good success,” said Charles in a letter to Montrevil, then conducting his negotiations with the Scotch : “without pretending to prophecy, I will foretel their ruin, except they agree with me.”^d

It was now necessary that he should take some decided step for his personal safety. The parliamentary troops were drawing near to Oxford, with the avowed intention of enclosing the King ; and he therefore left the city privately on the 27th of April, attended only by Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, and arrived at the quarters of the northern army, then engaged in the siege of Newark. The

^d Clarendon v. 355.

The intrigues which preceded and led to the King’s repairing to the Scotch army, are involved in much obscurity. They were conducted principally by Montrevil, the French ambassador. Clarendon represents him as having applied first to the Commissioners in London, whom he found resolute in demanding the abrogation of episcopacy, and the establishment of the covenant, as the condition of their affording aid. Thence he repaired to the army before Newark, where “he found,” says the historian, “those in whom the power, at least the

command of the army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which presided in their counsels, rather devising and projecting expedients, how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands, than peremptory to adhere to them.” Montrevil was consequently assured, according to Clarendon, that “he might confidently advise his majesty to repair to the army, upon the terms himself had proposed ;” the officers engaging that a troop of horse should meet him at any place he might appoint. Immediately that Montrevil had for-

CHAP. possession of the king's person greatly emboldened
 XIII. the presbyterians. They regarded it as decisive of
 CHARLES the struggle between them and their opponents, and
 I. proceeded accordingly.

London petition against sectaries.

May 26.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, presented a remonstrance to the parliament; in which, among other things, they requested that all private and separate congregations might be suppressed,—that all sectaries refusing to conform to the public discipline might be proceeded against,—and that none disaffected to the presbyterian government might be admitted to any office

warded an account of these particulars to the King, pledging the faith of the King and Queen Regent of France, that if Charles thought fit to repair to the Scotch “he shall be received as their natural sovereign; and that he shall be with them in all freedom of his conscience and honour;” a very marked change was observed in the men with whom he had been treating. One refused to abide by his own declaration, and another disavowed what his authorized agent had reported. Such is Clarendon’s account, (*Hist. of Rebel.* v. 384—393) with which the Narrative of Ashburnham agrees, save that it attributes a more yielding temper to the Commissioners in London. Narrative of John Ashburnham i. 66—75. A letter from Ashburnham to Colepepper, dated Oxford, Dec. 13, 1645, strongly confirms this view of the case. “As I was going to close this dispatch,” he says, “there is a messenger very happily arrived from the Lord Sinclair, who hath brought a letter to his majesty from him and David Leslie, wherein they most earnestly invite his majesty to come to their army, with great promises of security, and complaints against

the parliament. We resolve (if they will not admit us in London) to drive that nail home.” Clarendon’s State Papers ii. 197. On the other hand, the Scotch General, and the Committee of Estates, in their communication to the parliament May 6, protest, that there had been no “treaty and capitulation” between them and the King. “So far as concerns us,” they add, “as we have a witness in heaven, we are confident to make it appear to the world, that there is nothing more in our desires, than in all our resolutions and proceedings to adhere to the covenant and treaty.” Rushworth v. 269. The following conclusions, drawn by the continuator of Sir James Mackintosh’s history, appears to me to present the facts of the case. “That the Scots, from the commencement of their differences with the parliament, labored earnestly and systematically to obtain possession of the king’s person; and that they used unscrupulous means to obtain it without condition; so that, in their dispute with the parliament, they might avail themselves of his remnant of power and authority, —or sacrifice him.” vol. vi. 29.

of public trust. The Lords respectfully acknowledged the merits of the city, and gave the authorities thanks for this expression of their zeal; but the Commons were indignant at their assumption, and, after a warm debate, simply replied that they would take the remonstrance "into consideration ^{June 18.}" The General Assembly of Scotland, however, addressed a letter to the city authorities, applauding their "seasonable testimony to the truth of the gospel," and exhorting them to persevere in "asserting the government of Christ, and vindicating the same from the usurpation of men, and contempt of the wicked." A similar communication was forwarded to the Westminster ^{June 27.} divines, and no means were left untried, by which the persecuting zealots of the kirk could hope to subdue the legislature to their service.^g

A counter petition to that from the city authorities, was presented to parliament, signed by several thousand inhabitants of London; who pledged themselves to support the House with their lives and fortunes, and prayed it to reserve to its own wisdom the management of affairs, and never to suffer the people to be enslaved under any pretence whatever. The petitioners were cordially received, and obtained the thanks of the House for their "good affections."^h The inclination of the Commons was sufficiently evident; but it was yet necessary to observe a cautious policy, and they therefore contented themselves with an expression of their general views, and in the mean time urged the Assembly to reply to the queries which had

^f Whitelocke 212. Parl. Hist. iii. 474—480.

^g Rushworth v. 307, 308.
^h Whitelocke 213.

CHAP. been submitted to it. Encouraged by the present
XIII. posture of public affairs, the London ministers
CHARLES began to avow their determination, not to comply

I. with the parliamentary ordinance for the establishment of presbytery, until those clauses were rescinded which tended to abridge the spiritual power. Their views were published in a treatise entitled *The divine right of Church Government*, and were embodied in a petition which they presented to parliament, in conjunction with the lord mayor, and other officers of the city.¹ The only effect of these proceedings, was to determine the Commons on a more vigorous enforcement of their edict. For this purpose an order was issued, June the 9th, commanding all ministers within the province of London, " forthwith to put in execution the ordinances concerning church government ;" and directing the representatives of the city, and of Westminster, to send copies of the same to their several parishes, and to see that they were duly acted on. The firmness of parliament triumphed on this occasion. The city divines saw that it was in vain to proceed any further ; and, assembling at Sion College, drew up a paper, which they subsequently published under the title of *Certain Considerations and Cautions, agreed upon by the Ministers of London and Westminster, and within the lines of communication, June 19, 1646, according to which they resolve to put the presbyterian form of government into execution, upon the ordinances of parliament before published.*^{*}

¹ Neal iii. 279. ^{*} Husband ii. 889. Collier ii. 841.

The attention of the nation was now engaged by the negociations which were carried on with the King. CHAP.
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CHARLES
I. His presence in the Scotch camp alarmed the English parliament, and led to serious altercations with the commissioners in London. The former demanded that he should be delivered up to them, and the latter paused to see whether he could be induced to adopt their covenant. Had he done so, they would have made common cause with him, and have endeavoured to force both monarchy and presbyterianism on the nation. But Charles was resolute in resisting their propositions. He pleaded the divine institution of episcopacy, and the obligation of his coronation oath;—yet expressed a willingness to debate the matter with any person they might appoint. Mr Henderson, rector of Edinburgh University, and pastor of a church in that city, was accordingly summoned to Newcastle, and several papers passed between him and the King.¹ The result was what every reasonable person might have anticipated; and the death of Henderson, which occurred immediately on his return to Edinburgh, was attributed by the royalists to chagrin and mortification. Clarendon affirms, that “he was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he had departed from his majesty.”^m The fact of his death soon after his return from Newcastle is indisputable, but the cause to which it is attributed by Claren-

Negotiations
of the Scots
with the king.

¹ Rushworth v. 321. King Charles's Works 155—187.

^m Hist. of Reb. v. 409. The royalists industriously circulated

CHAP. XIII. don is perfectly chimerical. Henderson's health had been declining for some time, and he soon CHARLES sunk, worn out by the extent and oppressiveness of I. his labors.^a The conduct of Charles, in refusing to purchase the assistance of the Scotch, by adopting their covenant, is one of the most honorable circumstances of his public life. It goes to show that his attachment to episcopacy was deep-rooted and conscientious, and was not to be shaken by any proffer of secular advantage. Amid such a course of duplicity as he ordinarily pursued, it is pleasing to meet with some relic of surviving virtue. His judgment may be regarded as erroneous, and his reasonings as unsound, but the honesty with which he risked a crown at the dictate of conscience must be admired.^b

this report, and even proceeded so far as to publish a recantation, said to have been drawn up by Henderson on his dying bed. Heylin's Presby. 477. Echard's England ii. 557. The General Assembly pronounced this recantation to be "forged, scandalous, and false," declaring that "after due search and trial, they do find that their worthy brother, Master Alexander Henderson did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle till the last moment of his departure out of this life, upon all occasions manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of reformation in these kingdoms." Neal, Appendix, No. 10. The style of the alleged recantation, together with other corroborative circumstances, sustains the assertion of the Assembly; yet some modern writers still appeal to this paper as genuine. Henderson was no doubt deeply affected by the failure of his mission to New-

castle. He was a thorough presbyterian and monarchist, and, as such, was concerned for the conversion of the King, and his restoration to power. It was therefore no marvel that his spirits were depressed, when his last hope of accomplishing these objects was destroyed by the refusal of Charles to abandon episcopacy. Baillie ii. 220, 222.

^a Baillie ii. 139, 140.

^b Baillie's letters, at this period, abound with illustrations of the narrow-mindedness and bigotry of his party. Writing to Henderson, May 16th, he says, referring to the King, "If that man now go to tinkle on bishops, and delinquents, and such foolish toys, it seems he is mad. If he have the least grace or wisdom, he may, by God's mercy, presently end the miseries wherein himself and many more are likely else to sink. Go matters as they will, if men will not be saved, who can help it? And yet, you

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XIII.

CHARLES
I.

Treaty of
Newcastle.

Commissioners from the English parliament arrived at Newcastle, July 23rd, with a series of propositions to be submitted to the king, substantially the same as those which had been offered at Uxbridge in the early part of the previous year. They required him to take the covenant; to consent to an act for the utter abolishing of all archbishops, bishops, &c.; to confirm the ordinance for calling the assembly of divines; to concur in such a settlement of religion as the two houses after consultation with the assembly of divines, should agree upon; and to promote “the nearest conjunction and uniformity in matters of religion” between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. He was also required to agree to several measures for the suppression of popery, and to give his assent to various acts for the due observance of the Lord’s day—the prevention of ecclesiastical innovations—the encouragement of preaching—the abolition of pluralities and non-residence—and for the reform of the two universities, and the colleges of Westminster,

know, I was never among those who had the greatest aversion from his person, or least sympathy with his affections. If he be resolved to stop our mouths, and bind our hands, that we may neither speak, nor do for him, let him go on so to make himself and us miserable; there is a better life coming; but woe to these villains who have bewitched, poisoned, and infatuated a good prince, for his own and so many millions’ ruin!” Again, Aug. 7th, “We are at a great nonplus, in very great grief and perplexity. We know not what either to say or do. There is before us a thick cloud of

confusion. Many of the king’s greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if, in God’s justice, he were destroying himself.” Again, Aug. 18th, “It is well that Mr. Andrew Ramsay’s treatise has done what Mr. Henderson and all the rest of you could not do. But it is a pity that base hypocrisy, when it is pellucid, should still be entertained. No oaths did ever persuade me that episcopacy was ever adhered to on any conscience. I esteemed all your debates, on that subject, to be but ridiculous pretexts to gain time, till the last resolution came from your masters beyond sea.” ii. 208, 222, 224.

CHAP. **XIII.** Winchester, and Eton.^p The commissioners were introduced to the king the day after their arrival, **CHARLES I.** and, on proceeding to read these propositions, were asked, “If they had any power to treat or debate upon them?” Replying in the negative, Charles unceremoniously remarked, “Then, barring the honour of the business, an honest trumpeter might have done as much.” The king requested time to frame his answer, and promised to prepare it within the period to which their stay was limited.^q Every effort was now made by the English and Scotch commissioners to induce his majesty’s compliance with the requests of parliament. They besought him, on their knees, to remember his condition, and to avert further evils by availing himself of this only chance of escape. “If your majesty,” said the chancellor of Scotland, “as God forbid, shall refuse to assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the house, lose the city, and all the country; and all England will join against you as one man. They will proceed to depose you, and set up another government. They will charge us to deliver your majesty to them, and to render their garrisons, and remove our armies out of England; and, upon your majesty’s refusal of the propositions, both kingdoms will be constrained, for their mutual safety, to agree and settle religion and peace without you; which (to our unspeakable grief) will ruin your majesty and posterity, if your majesty refuse our faithful advice.”^r The king, however, was in-

^p Rushworth, v. 309—317. The other principal articles proposed to the king respected the militia, the control of which parliament claimed for twenty years; the annulling of all peerages created since the

20th May, 1642; and the exception from pardon of several of the king’s most zealous adherents.

^q Rushworth, v. 319. White-locke, 222. Parl. Hist., iii. 513.

^r Rushworth, v. 320.

flexible. No reasonings or entreaties could shake his resolution. He was naturally averse from the surrender of his adherents to the vengeance of parliament, was honestly, though bigotedly, attached to episcopacy, and was hopeful of the success of his intrigues with other parties. “These false, traiterous whisperers,” says Baillie, “that would make the blinded prince believe that the sectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to cast him and all his posterity out of England, they are impudent liars.”^s The king, consequently, refused the propositions of parliament, and urged, for the better carrying on of the negociation, that he should repair to London, or to one of his houses in the neighbourhood, “upon the public faith and security of the two houses and the Scotch commissioners, that he shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety.” The parliament, of course, refused his proposal, and all hope of an accommodation was thereby for the present, abandoned. In thus rejecting the propositions made to him, Charles acted against the counsels of many of his advisers. Bellievre, the French ambassador, was specially commissioned by the English queen, and her fellow exiles, to entreat him to compound with the presbyterians; and on his failure, Sir William Davenant was sent over with a letter, urging him to “part with the church for his peace and security.” But the king was immovable on this point; and when urged to it by Davenant, silenced him with more warmth than was usual to his temper.^t

Having closed, for the present, his negotiations

^s Letters, ii. 225.

^t Clarendon, v. 409—412.

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XIII.
CHARLES
I.

King recurs
to the presby-
terians.

with the parliament, he addressed himself, with increased earnestness, to the Scotch commissioners, endeavouring, through the medium of their fears, to engage their support. He had previously adopted a similar policy with the independents, thinking, according to the representation of Clarendon, that “the power of the presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seemed no unnatural argument to work upon those who professed to be swayed by matter of liberty of conscience in religion; since it was out of all question that they should never find the least satisfaction to their scruples and principles in church government, from those who pretended to erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ.”^u Failing, however, of his object in this quarter, he now turned to the northern presbyterians, and offered to deliver up the sectaries to their pleasure. “It is true,” he says, in his paper to their commissioners, “that I desire that my own conscience, and those that are of the same opinion with me, might be preserved, which, I confess, doth not as yet totally take away episcopal government; but then consider, withal, that this will take away all the superstitious sects and heresies of the papists and independents; to which you are no less obliged by your covenant, than the taking away of episcopacy. And this that I demand,” said the wily monarch, with glaring insincerity, “is most likely to be but temporary; for if it be so clear as you believe, that episcopacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God will so enlighten mine eyes, that I shall soon perceive it; and then I promise you to concur

^u Clarendon, v. 343.

with you freely in matters of religion. But I am sure you cannot imagine that there is any hope of converting or silencing the independent party, which undoubtedly will get a toleration in religion from the parliament in England, unless you join with me." The king's proposition did not pertain exclusively to Scotland, but embraced extensive districts of England ;—a fact which it is difficult to reconcile with the integrity of his previous declarations. If conscience prevented his consenting to the abolition of episcopacy throughout the kingdom, it must equally have militated against its suppression in any districts. The principle which operated in the one case, was equally applicable to the other. Yet Charles reasoned otherwise ; and therefore introduced, at the close of his paper, this limitation : " Whereas I mentioned that the church government should be left to my conscience, and those of my opinion, I shall be content to restrict it to some few dioceses, as Oxford, Winchester, Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Exeter ; leaving all the rest of England fully to the presbyterian government, with the strictest clauses you shall think upon against the papists and independents."^v Thus the ill-fated monarch endeavoured to play the two parties against each other, one day proffering the independents the fullest liberty of conscience, and on the next offering them as a sacrifice to presbyterian intolerance. The circumstances of the king must, in candor, be admitted to extenuate somewhat the baseness of his policy ; but, with such facts clearly established, it is the height of folly to magnify his honor and virtue.

CHAP.
XIII.

CHARLES
I.

^v Rushworth, v. 328.

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CHARLES
I.
Scotch army
voted unnec-
essary.

Sept. 2.

The parliament at Westminster was now intent on removing the Scotch army from England. So early as the 19th May, it was voted that there was no further need for its services, and that a hundred thousand pounds should be raised to expedite its departure. This vote was renewed July the 6th, with an intimation that the kingdom was unable to continue the pay of the troops any longer.^x An altercation ensued between the commissioners and parliament respecting the amount due to the army. The former demanded £600,000, and the sum finally agreed on was £400,000, half to be paid before the Scots left England, and the remainder to be secured on the public faith.^y

King delivered
ed up to the
parliament.

Another question on which the parliament and Scots differed, was the disposal of the king's person. Immediately that the former heard of his having repaired to the northern army, they passed resolutions, requiring him to be delivered up to them. The Scots were unwilling to comply, yet were deeply anxious to avoid an open rupture with the English parliament. They therefore maintained an equivocal position, which might permit them, subsequently, either to yield to the demands made at Westminster, or to adopt the cause of the king. Had Charles agreed to their terms, by accepting the covenant, they would probably have sought to replace him on his throne, instead of delivering him up to his victors. As it was, they were desirous of making the most of his presence among them, and therefore urged that he should be disposed of by the joint consent of both kingdoms. To this the

^x Whitelocke, 211, 220. Rush-
worth, v. 306.

^y Whitelocke, 225, 227. Rush-
worth, v. 326.

English parliament refused their assent, contending that the Scots were but auxiliaries in the war, and that to themselves exclusively pertained the right of dealing with the king's person. The Scotch ultimately gave way. Early in January they made a last effort to induce the king to adopt the covenant, and failing in this, they resolved to comply with the request of the English parliament. Charles was accordingly delivered to commissioners appointed by the latter, who conveyed him to Holmby castle, in Northamptonshire, where he was detained a prisoner.^z

CHAP.
XIII.CHARLES
I.

Jan. 30, 1647.

The Scotch have been severely censured for their conduct towards the king. Having allured him to their army by an explicit assurance of personal safety, and the vague promise of aiding his cause, they were bound either to restore him to his throne, or to allow him the option of consulting his safety by departing the kingdom. The least they should have done, was to place him in a position as free and unfettered as that which he occupied prior to his appearance amongst them. Their negotiations with the parliament are charged with a mercenary character by their enemies; but for this, it is only justice to say, there is little foundation. Their pecuniary claims on the English parliament were perfectly valid and just, and were voted some months prior to their surrendering the king. But from the other charge, of first intriguing with the monarch for the advancement of their party interests, and then giving him up to the parliament as a peace-offering, it is not so easy to vindicate them.

^z Rushworth, v. 329—372, 398.

CHAP. XIII. They were disappointed in the success of their
CHARLES I. scheme, and were consequently reduced to the meanness of handing over their sovereign to the hands of his enemies. One consideration, however, must be borne in mind, as it serves to extenuate whatever was mean or base in their conduct. They surrendered the king to the presbyterians, who were among the most zealous monarchists, and from whom, therefore, no danger to his person or office could have been anticipated.^a

^a The English presbyterians strongly recommended their northern brethren to withdraw their army, and to surrender the king's person. They hoped, by this means, to bring about the disbanding of the English army, which was now the stronghold of the sectaries. Baillie writing, Sept. 1st, 1647, says, "Stapleton and Hollis, and some others of the eleven members, had been the

main persuaders of us to remove out of England, and leave the king to them, upon assurance, which was most likely, that this was the only means to get that evil army disbanded, the king and peace settled according to our minds: but their bent execution of this real intention has undone them, and all, till God provide a remedy." II. 257.

CHAPTER XIV.

Ordinances for abolishing Episcopacy, and the sale of Bishops' Lands—Policy of these measures—London Petition against Sectaries—Scheme of the Presbyterians—Rupture between the Parliament and Army—King's Reply to the Newcastle Propositions—His seizure by the Army—Their advance towards London—Consternation of Parliament—Representation of the Army—Withdrawment of Members from Westminster—Conduct of the Army canvassed—Scheme of Government proposed by it—King's Negotiations with the Army—Intrigues with the Presbyterians—Rejects Proposals of the Army—Cromwell and Ireton suspected by the Army—King's flight to the Isle of Wight.

To provide for their pecuniary engagements with the Scots, the parliament issued two ordinances for the abolition of episcopacy, and the sale of bishops' lands. The first of these, dated Oct. 9th, ordained that the name and dignity of archbishops, bishops, &c., should, from the 5th Sept. 1646, be wholly abolished, and all persons be disabled from filling such offices, or from exercising episcopal jurisdiction, "any law, statute, usage, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding." All possessions and hereditaments belonging to such offices were assigned over to trustees appointed to hold them for the benefit of the commonwealth. The second of these ordinances, dated Nov. 16th, directed such trustees to apply the proceeds of the bishops' lands to certain

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XIV. specified purposes ; all tithes, oblations, and other ecclesiastical dues, being expressly reserved for the CHARLES maintenance of preaching ministers.^a

I.
Policy of
these mea-
sures.

In these votes the legislature, in the most distinct and practical form, avowed its right to deal with ecclesiastical property as it thought fit. Different judgments have been pronounced on the procedure ; some applauding it as the height of wisdom, and others condemning it as the extreme of injustice and sacrilege. Within certain limits, the right of the state to deal with ecclesiastical property had been admitted by the protestant church of England. That property pertained originally to the catholic church, the members of which were, therefore, alone entitled to plead the intention of the donors. It was transferred to protestants by parliamentary statute, and they received it on this ground, in palpable contravention of the views and intentions of the original benefactors. The Romish priests had wrung from the reluctant grasp of their dying votaries, the wealth which had pampered the priesthood, and secularized the church. It was the price which ignorance paid for the false peace that popery ministered—the purchase-money, for which was promised the favor of God and the blessedness of heaven. The lawless and the dying, who thus sought to escape the future punishment of their crimes, had no other notion of religion than what their confessors taught them ; and would have recoiled with horror from the application of their property to the support of a heretical and schismatic church. Yet the descendants of the early reformers, after

^a Rushworth v. 373—385.

receiving the spoils of the papacy from sacrilegious hands, have, with strange inconsistency, denied the right of the legislature to deal with ecclesiastical property.

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Still it admits of question, whether the appropriation, provided for in the parliamentary ordinances, was the wisest and best which could have been devised. It was for the good both of the church and the nation, that the enormous wealth of the former should be diminished; but how that wealth should be employed, was a deeply-interesting and momentous question, on which differences of opinion might reasonably prevail. The necessities of the parliament determined its choice; but the calmer judgment of posterity would have preferred its appropriation to purposes of charity and general education.

The state of parties was now materially altered, and it soon became evident that a violent rupture would ensue between the parliament and the army. During the years 1645 and 1646, numerous elections had taken place, and a large majority of the members returned, supported for a time the independent party.^b The ascendancy of the presbyterians was thus temporarily destroyed, and their attempt to establish the independence of the clerical power defeated. But when the king was entirely reduced, and the views of Cromwell, St. John, and Vane, were seen to contemplate some extensive and organic changes in the framework of government, many of the new members became alarmed, and

^b One hundred and forty-six new members were introduced during 1645, and eighty-nine in the following year. Whitelocke, 154, 192. Goodwin ii. 39.

CHAP. XIV. passed over to the presbyterians. The parliamentary supremacy of the latter was thus restored, and CHARLES I. the measures which they speedily adopted, hastened the approaching crisis.^c

London petition against
sectaries, and
for the dis-
banding of
the army.

Dec. 19.

London was still regarded as the stronghold of the presbyterians, and efforts were therefore made to stir up its citizens to a demonstration favorable to the policy on which Hollis and Stapleton had agreed. It was deemed advisable that the measure which they contemplated should appear to originate in the metropolis. *An humble representation of the pressing grievances and important desires of the well-affected freemen and covenant-engaged citizens of the city of London, to the two houses of parliament,* was accordingly drawn up early in December, and on the tenth of that month was submitted to the city authorities for their approbation. Thanks were returned to the petitioners, and their memorial, together with a petition from the common council, was shortly afterwards presented to the two houses. The main object, both of the citizens and of the common council, was the support of the covenant. They complained of the contempt with which, in many cases, it was treated; desired that such as refused it might be excluded from all places of profit and trust; lamented the growth of heresy and schism; prayed that all such as were not regularly ordained might be restrained from preaching; and that an ordinance might be framed for the exemplary punishment of those who disturbed the peace, or infected the doctrines of the church. The speedy disbanding of the army was also recommended, and

^c Memoirs of Denzil Hollis. Masere's Tracts, i. 215. Goodwin ii. 210, 220.

the destination of the troops distinctly pointed out, ^{CHAP.}
in the aid solicited for Ireland.^d ^{XIV.}

This was the commencement of the presbyterian scheme of policy, and at first it promised well. The lords returned thanks to the petitioners, and the commons, "after much debate," did the same. Having obtained possession of the person of the king, and effected the removal of the Scotch army, the presbyterian leaders agreed that there was no further occasion for the troops under Sir Thomas Fairfax. The war, it was alleged, was over, and the nation required to be relieved from the many burdens which the support of so large a body of soldiers entailed. This reasoning was more specious than solid. The royalists, though broken, were not subdued, and were now engaged in anxiously watching the movements of their enemies, in order to avail themselves of any favorable opportunity which occurred. The presbyterians were fully aware of this, and clamored for the disbanding of the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, only with a view of forming another more exactly to their mind. Fairfax's troops were composed of independents and other sectaries, and it was therefore the policy of the presbyterian leaders to diminish their numbers. It was accordingly resolved, by a small majority, that 5000 horse and 1000 dragoons should be the number maintained for the service of England, and that no more foot soldiers should be retained than were required for the different garrisons. A long debate took place upon the question, whether Sir Thomas Fairfax

<sup>CHARLES
I.</sup>
<sup>Scheme of
the presby-
terians.</sup>

^a Whitelocke, 233—235. Goodwin ii. 268. Neal iii. 308.

CHAP. should be continued in command ; and though it
XIV. was ultimately carried in the affirmative, it was
CHARLES resolved, three days later, that no member of par-
I.
March 8th. liament should command any garrison in England ;
that no officer above the rank of a colonel should
serve under the general ; and that all should be
required to take the covenant, and to conform to
the established government of the church.^e These
votes were obviously directed against Cromwell and
the independents, and left no alternative to the
army, but either to surrender the cause of religious
liberty, or to oppose the rash intolerance of parlia-
ment. A fearful question was thus forced home
upon the consideration of the soldiers, and their
decision was perfectly natural. They had drawn
the sword in defence of the rights of conscience, and
they had wielded it with success. It was therefore
too much to expect that, after having subdued the
cavaliers, and saved the parliament, they should
now tamely submit to the narrow-minded bigotry
of the latter.

Rupture
between the
parliament
and army.

Hollis and the other presbyterian leaders mis-
calculated the spirit of the times, and the temper
of the men with whom they had to deal. They
placed out of account the disorganizing influences
of their day, and were wholly unprepared for
that bold defiance of legal forms and constituted
authorities which they speedily witnessed. They
fondly relied on the moral influence of parlia-
ment, forgetting that their own opposition to the
king had materially weakened, and for a time de-
stroyed, the reverence with which Englishmen were

^e Whitelocke, 242, 243.

accustomed to view their ancient institutions. It was no marvel that the men who had been taught to meet the armies of their monarch, and to imprison his person, should boldly assert their rights against a reckless faction, which sought to build on the ruins of prelacy its own intolerant and bigoted scheme. Nor were the presbyterians wise in the measures they adopted. Having resolved on disbanding the troops, they should instantly have granted the indemnity which was claimed, and have discharged all arrears of pay. Instead of this, they trifled with the reasonable demands of the military, and thus irritated a body of men to whose patriotism and courage they were indebted for their present security. Numerous communications took place between the parliament and army without effect. The former wanted to draft a considerable force for the service of Ireland ; but the latter demanded, as a preliminary, that their officers should be named, and that they should be guaranteed from injury on account of what they had done in the war. To this the presbyterians demurred, and several petitions were in consequence presented to the House. The language of the soldiers was at first respectful, though firm. They asserted their right to petition ; appealed to precedents in vindication of their doing so ; and indignantly rebutted the charges preferred against them. “ We hope,” said the officers, “ by being soldiers, we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interests in the commonwealth ; that in purchasing the freedom of our brethren, we have not lost our own.” They re-asserted the equity of their demand for payment of arrears to themselves and their

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April 27th.

CHAP. XIV. troops; appealed to the speedy termination of the war in proof that they "had not been mercenary, CHARLES or proposed gain as their end;" and insisted on I. their common interest with other citizens. "We left our estates," said the undaunted assertors of liberty, "and many of us our trades and callings, to others, and forsook the contentments of a quiet life, not fearing or regarding the difficulties of war, for your sakes."^f

The parliament should have taken warning from the calm yet decided language of this petition. But instead of doing so, they continued to annoy and irritate the army,—one day holding out the prospect of acceding to their requests, and the next rescinding their vote, and placing the military at defiance. As the inevitable consequence of this policy, the dissatisfaction of the army rapidly increased, and at length consolidated itself in a form which threatened a systematic and permanent resistance of the civil power. The officers, at first, constituted the only deliberative body in the army, but they speedily gave way to the council of agitators, which was composed of representatives chosen by the non-commissioned officers and privates of each regiment. Cromwell is usually represented as the animating spirit of this confederacy; but it may well be doubted whether his influence was so omnipotent, or his schemes so matured, as his enemies allege. At a subsequent period, he unhesitatingly availed himself of the rude oratory and religious enthusiasm of the soldiers, but as yet the course of events required

^f Rushworth v. 468—470. Parl. Hist. iii. 568—571. This petition was signed by the lieutenant-general of the ordnance, seven colo-

nels, seven lieutenant-colonels, six majors, and one hundred and thirty captains and inferior officers. Their names are printed by Rushworth.

not his agency to determine its character, or to point out its issue. The conduct of the military was exactly such as might have been anticipated in their circumstances. They despised the presbyterians as men who had originated the war, but were destitute of the talents and enterprize necessary for its successful conduct ;—as the clamorous assailants of prelatical tyranny, who, after appealing to the justice and compassion of the nation against the intolerance of Laud, were themselves bent on establishing a despotism as inimical to human freedom and happiness. What the presbyterians had failed to accomplish, the army had achieved ; and now, fresh from the field of battle, knit together by common dangers, and honestly indignant at the calumnies which had been heaped upon them, they not unnaturally refused to yield up the fruit of their victories, at the dictation of those whom they had saved from ruin.

Three days after the presentation of the officers' petition, Major-General Skippon read to the House a letter, placed in his hands by some troopers, on behalf of several regiments of horse. In this letter the soldiers declare their reasons for not engaging in the Irish service, complain of the scandalous charges recently preferred against them, avow their conviction of the existence of designs unfriendly to themselves and “many of the godly party in the kingdom,” and designate, in no very dubious or respectful terms, the men who sought to disband and new-model the army. The scheme on which the presbyterians were rashly bent, was denounced as “a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of sovereignty ; and being lifted up above

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CHAP. the ordinary sphere of servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants."⁵

CHARLES No minutes were taken of the debate which followed,

I. as Rushworth had recently been appointed secretary to Fairfax. It was one of the most interesting which occurred during this eventful period. Some of the more violent members proposed that the messengers from the army should be committed to the Tower, and the letter, of which they were the bearers, be declared seditious. But more sagacious statesmen deprecated this course; and Sexby, Allen, and Sheppard, were called to the bar, and

⁵ Rushworth v. 474. Parl. Hist. iii. 571. Cromwell is represented as having acted, on this occasion, "his master-piece of dissimulation." His connexion with the petitioners was generally suspected, and the design of apprehending him was entertained by some of the presbyterian leaders; yet he wrought so powerfully on the house, as to be appointed, in connexion with Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to repair to the headquarters of the army, for the purpose of allaying its discontent. It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of his conduct. Our accounts of it are furnished by his enemies, and are, in many points, so contradictory, as to involve the whole in doubt. "That Cromwell should succeed," remarks a recent historian, "by any artifices of rhetoric or dissimulation, in persuading the house of his own faith and obedience, and of the implicit submission with which the army would receive its commands,—a house of which the presbyterian majority knew so well his principles and character, and which had such flagrant proofs of organised resistance on the part of the army;—all this is so improbable, as to be scarcely within the compass of belief. But

that he spoke of his own fidelity and obedience in unmeaning or unconvincing generalities—of the army in its own vague language, 'as having no thought of disrespect to the authority of the house,' without being, or expecting to be, believed; that he, at the same time, showed clearly the folly of a collision which would but precipitate a crisis more violent, perhaps, than that which soon followed, is credible and likely. It is a hackneyed misrepresentation and vulgar mistake that Cromwell was habitually a canting hypocrite. Cromwell, by one of the singularities of his genius, was equally characterised by frank and fearless explosions of thought and sentiment, and by masking them on great occasions with profound and consummate art. All that appears certain here is, that there was an understanding between the council of officers and the agitators; whilst Cromwell's relations with the latter may be inferred and estimated from the fact that among the most active of their body were Aires, Berry, and Desborough, his favourite officers, the last married to his sister, and all brought up in his famous regiment." Cont. of Mackintosh's Hist. vi. 50.

examined respecting the letter they had brought. Their conduct was manly and straightforward. To some questions they promptly replied; but when interrogated on the meaning of particular phrases in the letter, they pleaded that they were only agents, and not competent, therefore, to expound the document in question.

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The greatest alarm was now excited by the conduct of the army. Their quarters were removed nearer London, and demonstrations of no equivocal character were made. The citizens were apprehensive of an immediate assault, and steps were taken to prepare a militia force for their defence. But the policy of the army was less violent and more sagacious than its enemies supposed. Its purpose would only have been defeated, by an immediate approach to the city. The more moderate presbyterians would have been alarmed, and the decision of a numerous class of waverers have been hostile to such a step. Their leaders therefore abstained from so rash and hazardous a measure. Their object was gained by the determined resistance already made to the designs of parliament; and they now waited to see what advantage could be taken of the course of events.

The unfriendly relations subsisting, between the army and presbyterian majority in parliament, disposed the latter to hearken favorably to the propositions of the king. Cromwell and his associates were aware of this, and dreaded the success of the secret negotiations which were known to be carrying on between Charles and them. Their fears were greatly heightened by the tenor of the king's reply to the propositions made to him at

CHAP. Newcastle. His letter was read to the Lords on the
 XIV. 18th May, and agreed, among other things, to the
 CHARLES establishment of the presbyterian government, the
 I. assembly of divines, and the directory, for three
 King's reply years, provided "that his majesty and his house-
 to the New- hold be not hindered from that form of God's ser-
 castle propo- vice which they formerly have had; and also, that
 sition. a free consultation and debate be had with the
 divines at Westminster (twenty of his majesty's
 nomination being added unto them), whereby it
 may be determined by his majesty and the two
 houses, how the church shall be governed after the
 said three years, or sooner, if differences may be
 agreed." He also consented to vest the command
 of the army and navy for ten years in persons
 chosen by parliament; and earnestly solicited that
 he might repair to London for the more speedy and
 satisfactory conduct of the negotiation. His pro-
 positions were favorably entertained by the Lords.
 Two days after their reception, a vote was passed
 agreeing to his removal to Oatlands, and the con-
 currence of the Commons was solicited.^h

King seized
by the army.

The army was speedily apprised of what was taking place, and determined by a bold policy to counteract it. They well knew the temper of their opponents, and could entertain no doubt of the measures which would be adopted, if they were permitted to bring their treaty with the king to an amicable settlement.ⁱ Cromwell left London on the

^h Rushworth v. 487, 489. White-
 locke, 250, 251. Parl. Hist. iii.
 577, 581.

ⁱ "The Agitators of the army,
 sensible of their condition, and
 knowing that they must fall under

the mercy of the parliament, un-
 less they could secure themselves
 from their power by prosecuting
 what they had begun; and fearing
 that those who had showed
 themselves so forward to close

third of June, and repaired to the army, the proceedings of which had been previously arranged. CHAP.
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On the same day, Joyce, a cornet, and member of CHARLES the Council of Agitators, arrived at Holmby, with a body of seven hundred horse, and demanded the king's person. The soldiers on duty refused to act against their comrades; and the king, with apparent willingness, departed towards Newmarket on the following day.^k

The utmost consternation prevailed at Westminster, when intelligence of this event was received. It was instantly perceived that the power of parliament was gone; and serious apprehensions were entertained of the ulterior designs of the army. Those designs were soon evidenced, and they confirmed the worst fears of the presbyterians. A rendezvous of the army took place near Newmarket, on the 5th of June, where all reserve was laid aside, and the soldiers of Naseby spoke out, in language which went to the heart of the nation. They entered into a solemn engagement to abide

Advance of
the army
towards
London.

with the King, out of principle, upon any terms, would now for their own preservation receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience, sent a party of horse under the command of Cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June, 1647, with an order in writing to take the King out of the hands of the commissioners of parliament." Ludlow's Memoirs i. 191.

^k Impartial Narrative, &c. Rushworth v. 513—517. Fairfax was ignorant of the design to seize the King. On being informed of it, he sent Colonel Whalley, with two regiments

of horse, to recover him from the custody of Joyce, and to convey him back to Holmby, but the King positively refused to return. He was glad to escape from the strict vigilance of the parliamentary commissioners, and hoped to profit by the distractions of his enemies. The General summoned a council of war, "to proceed against Joyce for this high offence, and breach of the articles of war; but the officers," he tells us, "whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather (as I suspected) a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours ineffectual." Fairfax's Memoirs. Masere's Tracts ii. 447 448.

CHAP. by each other till they had obtained full “satisfaction and security,” avowed their hostility to the **XIV.** CHARLES “continuance in the same power and credit” of the **I.** men who, in their recent proceedings against the army, had abused the parliament and endangered the kingdom; and intimated their intention of speedily vindicating themselves from the suspicions under which they lay. “Whereas we find,” said the soldiers, “many strange things suggested or suspected to our great prejudice, concerning dangerous principles, interests and designs in this army, as to the overthrow of magistracy, the suppression or hindering of presbytery, the establishment of independent government, or upholding of a general licentiousness in religion, under pretence of liberty of conscience, and many such things; we shall very shortly tender to the parliament a vindication of the army from all such scandals, to clear our principles in relation thereunto.”¹

Consterna-
tion of
Parliament.

June 10.

The parliament now endeavoured to retrace its steps; but its concessions came too late. The opposition of the military was organized, and the army moved towards London. Commissioners were appointed to meet them at their rendezvous on Triploe heath, near Royston, but their propositions were referred to “some select officers and agitators,” and the army continued to advance. A letter, signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, and eleven other officers, was forwarded to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, setting forth the views and peaceable intentions of the army, and specially entreating the citizens not to

¹ Rushworth v. 510—512.

take part against them. "We desire," it was said, CHAP.
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 "no alteration of the civil government. We de-
 sire not to intermeddle with, or in the least to inter-
 rupt, the settling of the presbyterian government.
 Nor do we seek to open a way to licentious liberty,
 under pretence of obtaining liberty for tender
 consciences. We profess as ever in these things,
 when the state have once made a settlement, we
 have nothing to say but to submit or suffer ; only
 we could wish that every good citizen, and every
 man that walks peaceably in a blameless conversa-
 tion, and is beneficial to the commonwealth, may
 have liberty and encouragement ; it being accord-
 ing to the just policy of all states, even to justice
 itself."^m

The utmost consternation now prevailed, and the most contradictory votes were passed by parliament. One moment the presbyterian leaders breathed nothing but defiance, and prepared for the defence of the city ; but the next moment they quailed before the military, and endeavoured to appease their wrath. The train-bands were ordered out on pain of death ; the shops were closed, and the militia were empowered to raise horse. The Committee of safety was revived, and sat all night ; and a letter was addressed to the general, commanding him not to approach within fifteen miles of London. In the mean time Fairfax had established his head-quarters at St. Albans, where he received addresses of confidence from Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk, and other counties.ⁿ

^m Rushworth v. 554.

ⁿ Whitelocke 255, 256. Rushworth
v. 554, 556. .

CHARLES I. CHAP. XIV. An able document, entitled “A Representation from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the army under his command, humbly tendered to the parliament, concerning the just and fundamental rights and liberties of themselves and the kingdom, with some humble proposals and desires in order thereunto, and for settling the peace of the kingdom,” was now drawn up by the army, and presented to the parliamentary commissioners. This was immediately followed by a series of charges against eleven of the leading presbyterians, including Hollis, Staplyton, Glyn, and Maynard. The House endeavoured to protect its members, but ultimately consented to their withdrawal.^o

Withdrawal of members from Westminster.

July 26.

August 6.

A brief but sharp struggle now ensued, between the presbyterian and independent members. The former were aided by the populace, who crowded about the House, and clamored for the Covenant and King. The members were compelled to vote according to the dictation of the mob, and a resolution was taken to bring the monarch to Westminster without delay. The two speakers, together with eight peers, and fifty-seven commoners, immediately retired from the city, and placed themselves under the protection of the army. This division effectually accomplished the design of the latter. Fairfax had previously removed to a distance from the metropolis; but on hearing of the retirement of the members, he again advanced. Some show of resistance was made, but the courage of the city failed on his approach, and the general peaceably reinstated the members who had been

^o Parl. Hist. iii. 615—628. Whitelocke 257—262.

driven away.^p A death-blow was thus given to the supremacy of the presbyterians. In parliament they continued their opposition, and in many votes nearly balanced their opponents ; but all real power was transferred to the army, who became in consequence the arbiters of the fate, both of the King and nation.

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Different judgments will be pronounced on the part taken by the military in the civil struggles of this period, according to the views entertained of their character, and of the relation which they sustained to the general government. If regarded merely as a body of mercenaries, retained by the State, for the execution of its designs, it will be impossible to justify their interposition ; but the army of the parliament was not such, and hence arises the difficulty of pronouncing an unsparing censure on their proceedings. They themselves, both officers and men, constantly protested against being so regarded ; maintaining that their rights as citizens were not annulled by their character as soldiers. They constantly took this ground in their communications with the parliament. “ We are not,” said their “ Representation ” of the 15th of June, “ a mere mercenary army, hired to serve any arbitrary power of state, but called forth and conjured, by the several declarations of parliament, to the defence of our own and the people’s just rights and liberties ; and so we took up arms in judgment and conscience to those ends, and have so continued

^p Whitelocke 263—266. Rushworth v. 754—757. Ludlow’s Memoirs i. 206. Hollis of course censures the members for repair-

ing to the army. It may have been a wrong step, but it is difficult to say what better course was open to them.

CHAP. them ; and are resolved, according to your first just
XIV. desires in your declarations, and such principles as
CHARLES we have received from your frequent informations

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and our own common sense, concerning these our fundamental rights and liberties, to assert and vindicate the just power and rights of this kingdom in parliament, for those common ends premised, against all arbitrary power, violence, and oppression, and all particular parties and interests whatsoever.”^q This was their uniform language ; nor is it easy satisfactorily to reply to it. That their claim involved very serious liabilities, does not admit of question ; but such liabilities are the inevitable consequence of all revolutionary movements. To deny the army the right it claimed, would have been to disfranchise the most zealous assertors of liberty,—the most intrepid and successful defenders of the nation’s freedom. It was composed of very different materials from those which are ordinarily ranged under the banner of a military chief. Many of them were enthusiasts, both in religion and politics, but the mass of the army were sound-minded and reflecting men ; strongly imbued with a healthful piety, and honestly bent on working out the salvation of their country. It has been too long the fashion to condemn them in the gross, as an herd of reckless fanatics, unswayed alike by the sympathies of humanity and the spirit of religion. That such representations should have been current in the degenerate days of the second Charles, is no marvel. It was then the mark of loyalty, and the passport to royal favor, to vilify

^q Parl. Hist. iii. 618.

the brave troops of the commonwealth ; but sufficient time has now elapsed for the public mind to disabuse itself, and to distribute with an impartial hand its censure and commendation.

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Great injustice is done to the army by the manner in which the question pertaining to it is commonly stated. It is not necessary to decide between an ambitious soldiery and an assembly of national representatives. Such a case would preclude the possibility of doubt, and could easily be settled. But in the present instance other principles must be taken into account, and here the real difficulty is found. “The question is not to be viewed as between a constitutional parliament and a usurping army, but as between the presbyterian majority on the one side, the independent minority supported by the army on the other ; in short, as between two great political parties, who are to be estimated not by words or names, but by their respective measures and principles. It is true that resort was had to lawless force, but the resort to force is inevitable in the process of revolution.”^r If tried by this principle, the conduct of the army up to this period will need no vindication.^s

^r Cont. of Mackintosh's Hist. vi. 37.

^s The fullest and most authentic account of the army is contained in Sprigge's “Anglia Rediviva.” Sprigge was chaplain to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and his means of observation were ample. The following passage should be read in connexion with Baxter's account.

“The officers of this army, as you may read, are such as knew little more of war than our owne unhappy warres had taught them,

except some few, so as men, could not contribute much to this work. Indeed, I may say this, they were better Christians than soldiery, and wiser in faith than in fighting, and could believe a victory sooner than contrive it ; and yet I think they were as wise in the way of soldiery as the little time and experience they had could make them.

“These officers, many of them with their soldiery, were much in prayer and reading Scripture, an exercise that soldiers till of late

CHAP.
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Scheme of
government
proposed by
the Army.

August 1.

The superiority of their views, to those of the presbyterian majority in parliament, was strikingly evidenced in a paper entitled, “The heads of the Proposals agreed upon by his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and his Council of War.”^t The views broached in this able document, which was submitted both to the King and to the parliament, were greatly in advance of the public mind, in their amplitude, sagacity, and moderation. They were distinguished by a calm and profound consideration of the nature of government, the equal rights of subjects, and the sacredness of religious worship. In some points the “Proposals” of the army anticipate the changes which have been re-

have used but little, and thus they went on and prospered: men conquer better as they are saints than souldiers: and in the countries where they came, they left something of God as well as of Cæsar behind them, something of piety as well as pay.

“They were much in justice upon offenders, that they might be still in some degree of Reformation in their military state. Armies are too great bodies to be sound in all parts at once.

“The army was (what by example and justice) kept in good order, both respectively to its self, and the country: nor was it their pay that pacified them; for had they not had more civility than money, things had not been so fairly managed.

“They were many of them differing in opinion, yet not in action, nor businesse; they all agreed to preserve the kingdome; they prospered more in their unity, than uniformity; and whatever their opinions were, yet they plundered none with them, they betrayed none with them, nor disobeyed the state with

them, and they were more visibly pious and peaceable in their opinions, than many we call more orthodox.

“They were generally constant and conscientious in duties, and by such soberness and strictness conquered much upon the vanity and looseness of the enemy: many of those fought by principle as well as pay, and that made the work goe better on, where it was not made so much matter of merchandise as of conscience: They were little mutinous or disputing commands: by which peace the warre was better ended.

“There was much amity and unity among the officers, while they were in action, and in the field, and no visible emulations and passions to break their ranks, which made the public fare better.” p. 323.

^t The documents which proceeded from the army were drawn up principally by Ireton, a lawyer by education, and a man of distinguished ability, courage, and virtue. Whitelocke 257.

cently made in the national representation ; and, throughout the whole, they evidence a scrupulous anxiety to make the forms of the constitution the safeguards of public freedom. It was proposed that parliaments should be biennial ; that they should never sit less than one hundred and twenty days, nor more than two hundred and forty ; that the number of representatives from different parts of the country should be “proportionable to the rates they bear in the common charges and burdens of the kingdom ;” and that effectual provision be made to secure the freedom of elections, and the certainty of due returns. Several other regulations, equally enlightened, and tending to the good order and welfare of the community, were proposed. On ecclesiastical subjects the same moderation, sound sense, and good feeling are evinced. All coercive power was to be taken from ecclesiastical officers ; and all laws to be repealed “whereby the civil magistracy hath been, or is bound, upon any ecclesiastical censure, to proceed, ex officio, unto any civil penalties against any persons so censured.” Neither the book of common prayer, nor the Covenant, was to be enforced ; and the king, queen, and royal issue were to be restored, “without diminution to their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the regal power,” than was expressly declared in the particulars set down.^u

^u Parl. Hist. iii. 738—745. Mr. Godwin (Hist. of Common. ii. 377) treats the “proposals” of the army as a masterpiece of deception, but for this I see no reason. They were in perfect harmony with their previous professions ; and would, if acceded to, have

accomplished all for which they had struggled. Their sincerity does not appear to have been doubted at the time. “The army’s mind,” says Baillie, Aug. 20, “much of it may be seen in their propositions. They are clear enough for a full liberty of

CHAP.
XIV.

I.

CHARLES

CHAP. Such a scheme could not fail to have commended
 XIV. itself to all parties, if reason had been permitted to
 CHARLES regulate their proceedings. But the infatuated
 I. King still relied on the disputes of his enemies ;
 and the presbyterians were unwilling to surrender
 the power of the keys.

King's negotiations with the Army.

While these altercations were proceeding between the parliament and army, the latter was engaged in negotiations with the King, which afforded the prospect of his restoration to the throne, on much more advantageous terms than the presbyterians had proposed. From the time of his being taken under the charge of the army, Charles was treated with great respect. He was allowed the use of the liturgy, and the service of some of his chaplains ; free access was granted to his friends ; and Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Ashburnham, the agents of the Queen, were permitted to reside constantly with him.^x Cromwell, and his son-in-law Ireton, were the parties principally engaged in conducting the negotiations of the army. Their own interests coincided with those of the monarch ; and their propositions were consequently more moderate than Charles was entitled to expect. The future protector was well aware of the implacable hatred borne to himself by the presbyterians, and of their solici-

conscience, a destroying of our covenant, a setting up of bishops, of intralling the King so far as in my judgment he and they will not agree, albeit many think they are agreed already." Letters ii. 257—259. Hollis is, of course, furious in his denunciations ; but the reckless statements, and fierce invectives of a passionate man, are of little historical value.

Speaking of the "proposals," he says, "In these they set down a new platform of government, an utopia of their own, take upon them to alter all, give rules to all, cajole the king, class him with the people, cheat both, never intending good to either." Mascre's Tracts i. 291.

^x Clarendon v. 470. Hutchinson's Memoirs ii. 111.

tude to disband the army which constituted his strength. He was therefore concerned to bring his treaty with the King to a successful issue, as he would thereby at once secure his personal safety, counteract the intolerant policy of the presbyterians, and provide for the peaceable settlement of public affairs. The scheme of the army was contained in their celebrated “proposals;” and nothing short of infatuation could have prompted the King to reject it. The soldiers were as yet monarchical. Their propositions tended indeed greatly to limit the prerogative, but sacredly preserved the general theory of the constitution. The change which speedily took place in their sentiments is satisfactorily accounted for by the course of events.^y

^y The propositions of the army were privately submitted to the King before being publicly presented, and his conduct evinced the utter hopelessness of his being induced to take a calm and reasonable view of his circumstances. “His Majesty,” says Sir John Berkeley, “was much displeased with them in general, saying, that if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him. I replied, that if they had demanded less than they had done, I should have suspected them more than I now did, of intending not really to serve his Majesty, but only to abuse him, since it was not likely that men, who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in the proposals; and, on the other side, never was a crown (that had been so near lost) so cheaply recovered as his Majesty’s would be, if they agreed upon such terms. His Majesty was of another advice,

and returned, that they could not subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther, and then objected to three particular points of the proposals. The first was, the exception of seven not named from pardon. The second, the excluding his party from being eligible in the next ensuing Parliament. And the third, that though there was nothing against the Church-government established, yet there was nothing done to assert it. To these, I replied, that after his Majesty and the army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first point; and if he could not, when his Majesty was reinstated in his throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the seas in such sort as to make their banishment supportable to them. To the second, that the next Parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the kingdom; and it would be a happiness to the King’s party to have

CHAP.
XIV.
CHARLES I. Charles, instead of closing with their proposals, intrigued with the English presbyterians, and the Scotch commissioners. Both these parties dreaded his coming to an understanding with the army, and the King was madly bent on playing them off against each other. Unsatisfied with the sufferings already inflicted on his country, he preferred to free his way to the throne by the swords of apostate patriots, than to concede one particle of his prerogative. His past reverses had failed to improve his policy, or to elevate his character. On the throne, and as a prisoner, he was the same infatuated and unreflecting tyrant. Even the moderation of his conquerors was abused, until patience itself became exhausted, and self-preservation enforced on them an opposite policy. Among other persons who visited the King at Hampton Court was Lord Capel, to whom we are informed by Clarendon "his majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears ; and what great overtures the Scots had made to him ; and 'that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations ; in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England ; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other,'" and therefore desired Capel to watch such a con-

Intrigues
with the pres-
byterians.

no voice in them. To the third, that the law was security enough for the Church, and it was happy that men, who had fought against the Church, should be reduced (when they were superiors) not

to speak against it. His Majesty broke from us with this expression, 'Well! I shall see them glad ere long to accept more equal terms.' " Masere's Tracts ii. 366.

juncture, and draw his friends together.”² It was a hazardous game which the King thus played, and he paid dearly for it. His intrigues were discovered, and Cromwell and his associates took other measures for their own preservation.

Encouraged by the promises received from other quarters, Charles entertained the proposals of the army “with very tart and bitter discourses.” “You cannot be without me,” said the deluded monarch, “you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you.” The soldiers present on the occasion were naturally surprised at the haughtiness of his demeanor, upon perceiving which Sir John Berkeley whispered to him, “Sir, your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of and since your Majesty has concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too.”³ But Charles was incapable of profiting by the suggestions of his adviser. He still relied on the phantom of his kingship, with an idolatry as besotted as that of his father. “I shall play my game,” he said to Ireton, “as well as I can;” to which the latter not unnaturally replied, “If your Majesty have a game to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.” The conduct of both parties was accurately described by Ireton, when reporting to Colonel Hutchinson his communications with the King. “He gave us words,” said the former, “and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the

CHAP.
XIV.
CHARLES
I.

*Proposals
of army
rejected.*

² Hist. of Reb. v. 476.

³ Memoirs of Sir John Berke-

ley, Masere's Tracts ii. 368.

CHAP. people's good, but to prevail by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight."^b

CHARLES I. In the mean time the army became dissatisfied with the conduct of its officers. They resented the

Army dis-
satisfied with
Cromwell and
Ireton.

contemptuous rejection of their proposals, and began to murmur against Cromwell and Ireton. The moderation of these officers was represented as treachery to the public cause; and a scheme was entertained for seizing the king's person.^c His own obstinacy and invincible love of intrigue completed his ruin, and compelled the lieutenant-general and his son-in-law to abandon their negotiations, in order to save themselves. While any hope remained of bending the resolution of the monarch, they persisted in their efforts; but when this was destroyed, they gave way to the impetuosity of their associates. "Cromwell himself," says Clarendon, "expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained, "that the King could not be trusted; and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation again in blood; and therefore he

^b Hutchinson's Memoirs ii. 111. Ludlow i. 198.

^c Cromwell was accused by his enemies, of seeking his own aggrandizement in his negotiations with the King. Several reports were afloat respecting the honors for which he had bargained; and the presbyterian leaders, and the most violent of the Agitators, gave them credit. For these reports, however, there appears to have

been no foundation. Berkeley states expressly, that the king's mistrust of the army was "grounded chiefly upon the officers' backwardness to treat of receiving any favor or advantage from his Majesty." Masere's Tracts ii. 361. This account is explicitly confirmed by Ludlow, who was no friend to Cromwell. Memoirs i. 197.

would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation."^d It was no marvel that affairs should take the turn they did. Cromwell himself was in a dangerous position. From having been the head of the *Movement* party, he was now the advocate of moderate and conciliatory measures ; and was subjected in consequence to the misrepresentations of enemies, and the suspicions of his friends. His entire reliance was on the army, whose fidelity was seriously endangered by the misconstructions to which his conduct was exposed. The leading members of the Council of Agitators did not hesitate to avow their mistrust of his designs, and threats of no insignificant meaning were occasionally uttered. To persist in exposing himself to the dangers of such a position, when the obstinacy and faithlessness of Charles were clearly ascertained, would have been to evidence an infatuation equal to that of the King.^e

^d Hist. of Reb. v. 485. The royalist writers usually attribute Cromwell's negotiations with the King to a deep and subtle policy ; and their representation has been copied by authors of a more liberal complexion. Their general view of the Protector's character, has in this case, as in many others, been permitted unduly to regulate their interpretation of particular actions. The facts of the case have in consequence been laid out of account ; and their judgment has been determined by a persuasion of what was befitting the supposed character of the agent. The inequity of such a rule is too palpable to require being pointed out. Mrs. Hutchinson was a close observer of her times, and by no means favorable to Cromwell ; yet she says,

referring to these negotiations, "To speak the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time so uncorruptibly faithful to his trust, and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise even his own usual and ordinary dissimulations on this occasion. His son-in-law, Ireton, that was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it and found to the contrary) but that the King might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people, after he could no longer uphold his own violent will." Memoirs ii. 111.

^e A remarkable conversation between Lord Orrery and Cromwell is reported by Carte, in his Memoirs of the former. After stating his reasons for desiring an arrangement with the King, Crom-

CHAP. His residence with the army now became irk-
 XIV. some to the monarch. He had hoped to obtain
 CHARLES from its officers more favorable terms than they
 I.

The King
escapes from
Hampton
Court.

1647.

proffered, and being disappointed he turned to the presbyterians. A resolution was also taken to escape, if possible, from their custody ; which was effected on the evening of the 10th of November, in company with Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg.

well is represented as saying, "While we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter from one of our spies, who was of the King's bed-chamber, which acquainted us that on that day our doom was decreed ; that he could not possibly tell what it was, but we might find it out, if we could intercept a letter from the King to the Queen, wherein he declared what he would do. The letter, he said, was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle on his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar Inn, in Holborn ; for there he was to take horse and go to Dover with it. This messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some persons in Dover did. We were at Windsor when we received the letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and with troopers' habits to go to the inn in Holborn ; which accordingly we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn, where the wicket only was open, to let people in and out. Our man was to give us notice when a person came there with a saddle, while we in the disguise of common troopers, called for cans of beer, and continued drinking till about ten o'clock : the sentinel at the gate then gave notice, that the man with the saddle was come in.

Upon this we immediately rose, and as the man was leading out his horse saddled, came up to him with drawn swords, and told him we were there to search all that went in and out there, but as he looked like an honest man we would only search his saddle, and so dismiss him. Upon that we ungirt the saddle, and carried it into the stall where we had been drinking, and left the horseman with our sentinel ; then ripping up one of the skirts of the saddle we there found the letter of which we had been informed ; and having got it into our hands, we delivered the saddle again to the man, telling him he was an honest man, and bidding him go about his business. The man, not knowing what had been done, went away to Dover. As soon as we had the letter we opened it ; in which we found the King had acquainted the Queen, that he was now courted by both factions, the Scotch Presbyterians and the army, and which bid fairest for him should have him ; but he thought he should close with the Scotch sooner than the other, &c. Upon this, added Cromwell, we took horse and went to Windsor ; and, finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the King, we immediately from that time resolved his ruin." Carte's Ormond ii. 12. Hallam ii. 288.

After some hesitation, he determined to proceed to the Isle of Wight, in the hope of obtaining temporary protection from Colonel Hammond, then governor of Carisbroke Castle. This ill-judged attempt only served to hasten the monarch's fate. Hammond remained faithful to the Parliament, and scrupulously observed the orders he received to treat the King with respect, but to guard him with the utmost diligence.^f

CHAP.
XIV.CHARLES
I.

^f May's Second Civil War. Masere's Tracts i. 106.

CHAPTER XV.

Visitation of Oxford—Expulsion of Royalist Clergy—Influence on the University—London Petition on behalf of Lay Preaching—Negociations with the King at the Isle of Wight—His secret treaty with the Scots—Effect of his refusing the propositions of Parliament—Vote of no more addresses—Second civil war—Parliamentary ascendancy of Presbyterians—Prosecution of John Biddle—Ordinance against blasphemy—For setting up the Presbyterian Government.

CHAP.
XV.
CHARLES
I.

Visitation of
Oxford
University.

DURING the negotiations which followed the termination of the war, parliament was not inattentive to the ecclesiastical condition and wants of the nation. One of its earliest measures, was the appointment of a commission to visit and reform the Oxford University. The condition of this learned body was extremely deplorable, and called for the adoption of prompt and decided measures. Some of the colleges and halls had fallen into ruins, the number of students was greatly reduced, and the spirit of civil strife had extinguished the love of letters. The university had steadily adhered to the interests of the King, and continued up to the time of the city being surrendered to the Parliament, to

retain the liturgy in its public services. Its members were known to be amongst the most zealous and inflexible opponents of the popular party, and it was therefore deemed advisable to institute a rigid scrutiny, with a view to compel their obedience, or to compass their ejection. As a preparatory step, seven divines, among whom was Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, were deputed to visit Oxford, with power to occupy any of the pulpits of the University. Their commission was, to set forth the grounds of the Parliament's procedure, to explain and inculcate the covenant, and to endeavour by friendly persuasions to secure the obedience of the masters and fellows. Their exertions were not wholly unavailing with the town's-people, though they utterly failed to conciliate the University. An ordinance was consequently passed, early in May 1647, appointing several gentlemen and divines to visit this learned body, for the purpose of inquiring into the disaffection of its members to the present government. They, or any five of them, were empowered to exercise the authority which had pertained to previous visitors, and were specially directed to inquire concerning those who refused the covenant, and the oath of obedience to parliament. The course pursued by the heads of colleges was such as their known sentiments must have led the visitors to expect. They resolved in convocation not to submit to the parliamentary commissioners, and drew up a paper which they ordered to be printed, entitled "Reasons of the present judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the solemn league and covenant, the negative oath, and the ordinances concerning discipline and worship, ap-

CHAP.
XV.
CHARLES
I.

Sept. 10.
1646.

CHAP. proved, by general consent, in a full convocation, June
 XV. 1, 1647."^a Some of their reasons were unanswerable,
 CHARLES but they applied with equal force to the proceedings
 I. of the prelatists as to those of the parliament. The
 protest entered against the coercive measures of the
 latter, was singularly inconsistent with the uniform
 policy of the former. But the men who could scoff
 at the plea of conscience when urged by the suffer-
 ing puritan, availed themselves of it in the day of
 their own humiliation.^b A long series of alterca-
 tions now ensued, in which the authority of parlia-
 ment was treated with contempt, and its represen-
 tatives were subjected to open insult. "The Uni-
 versity," says Walker, "held out a siege of more
 than a year and half after the town was surrendered;

^a Clarendon exults in the intre-
 pidity of the Oxford men on this
 occasion. "To their eternal re-
 nown," he says, "being at the
 same time under a strict and
 strong garrison, put over them by
 the Parliament; the King in pris-
 on; and all their hopes despe-
 rate; they passed a public act
 and declaration against the cove-
 nant, with such invincible argu-
 ments of the illegality, wicked-
 ness, and perjury entertained in
 it, that no man of the contrary
 opinion, nor the assembly of
 divines, ever ventured to make
 any answer to it; nor is it indeed
 to be answered, but must remain
 to the world's end, as a monu-
 ment of the learning, courage,
 and loyalty of that excellent
 place, against the highest malice
 and tyranny that was ever exer-
 cised in or over any nation." Hist. of Reb. v. 481. This lan-
 guage was not unnatural from the
 eulogist of Charles and his party,
 but it is due to historical fidelity
 to state, that there was no such
 heroism in the conduct of the

Oxford divines as Clarendon al-
 leges. The influence of the par-
 liament was rapidly declining be-
 fore that of the army, and its
 commissioners might therefore be
 resisted without the alternative of
 martyrdom being chosen. The
 soldiers within sight of the uni-
 versity openly resisted the visitors,
 and the King's person was seized
 by a detachment from the army
 within two days of the Oxford
 "Reasons" being drawn up. It
 is only to suppose that the
 heads of colleges participated in
 the hopes of the Monarch, and
 their conduct will appear much
 less marvellous than Clarendon
 represents.

^b When the enthusiasm of loy-
 alty was at its height, subsequent
 to the restoration of the Stuarts,
 the Commons ordered a vote of
 thanks to be given to the Vice
 Chancellor, and other members of
 the University, for "their re-
 markable loyalty," and "for the
 illustrious performance they prin-
 ted" on this occasion.

for the Convocation House proved a citadel, and each single College a fort." The moderation of Parliament was unexampled; but, provoked at length by the resistance of the gownsmen, they appointed the Earl of Pembroke Chancellor in January, 1648, with full powers to subdue the refractory members of the University. He proceeded to Oxford on the eleventh of April, and speedily executed the commands of his employers.

A considerable number of the heads of colleges and fellows were ejected, and presbyterian divines were installed in their place. Some of the episcopal clergy were men of learning, and of estimable character, and the sufferings consequent on their expulsion were deeply to be deplored. But the majority of those whom the commissioners drove from the University, were distinguished only by their reckless loyalty, and a contumelious resistance of the will of parliament. To have permitted such to retain stations of authority and influence, would have been to arm their enemies against themselves, and to have perpetuated in the rising generation the same spirit and principles as actuated the men of their day. The Parliament was perfectly right in demanding from the University submission to its authority; but was wrong in making a religious creed the test of obedience, and the badge of patriotism. Having established its own supremacy, it was entitled to require submission from all corporate bodies, and to eject from places of honor and emolument those who refused it. So far its proceedings coincided with the obvious necessities of the case, and required no apology; but when the covenant was enforced as

EXPULSION OF
ROYALIST CLERGY.

CHAP. the pledge of civil obedience, a course was adopted
 XV. — which, however analogous to that of the bishops,
 CHARLES admits of no extenuation or defence. The rights
 I. of conscience were invaded by the exercise of an
 authority unsanctioned by the Christian system.

Influence
on the
University.

Twelve heads of colleges, and seven professors, besides a large number of fellows and scholars, were expelled, and their offices bestowed on members of the presbyterian party. A great change was thus wrought in the University, respecting which very different representations have been handed down. The royalist writers observe no moderation in their account of the new professors. Walker represents them “as ignorant enthusiasts and schismatics; an illiterate rabble, swept up from the plough tail, from shops, and grammar schools, and the dregs of the neighbour University:” and Wood with equal veracity and candor affirms, that there “flocked to the University several poor scholars, whom some called the scum of Cambridge, many poor school-masters, pedagogues from belfries, curates, and sometimes vicars, as also parliamentary soldiers, to gain preferment.”^c The names and

^c Suff. of the Clergy, Part I. p. 140. Athene Oxoniensis ii. 743. “They were commonly called Seekers,” says the latter of these writers, “were great frequenters of the sermons at St. Mary’s preached by the six ministers appointed by parliament, and other presbyterian ministers that preached in other churches in Oxon; and sometimes frequenters of the conventicles of Independents and Anabaptists. The generality of them had mortified countenances, pulsing voices, and eyes commonly,

when in discourse, lifted up, with hands laying on their breasts. They mostly had short hair, which at this time was commonly called the *committee cut*, and went in quirpo, in a shabb'd condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated school-boys, than academians or ministers; and therefore few or none, especially those of the old stamp, or royal party, would come near to or sort themselves with them, but rather endeavour to put scorn upon them, and make them ridiculous.”

acknowledged eminence of many of the heads and professors under the new system, sufficiently disprove these wholesale slanders. But it is unnecessary to enter into an investigation of the qualifications of individuals, as the curiously-reasoned statement of Clarendon, reluctantly ceded to the overwhelming evidence of the case, establishes beyond doubt their general competence, and the efficiency of the system they maintained. “It might reasonably be concluded,” he says, “that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill husbandry, and unskilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism, and rebellion; but, by God’s wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue; and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne, he found that university (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been in-

CHAP.
XV.
CHARLES
I.

CHAP. XV.—dustriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation, which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose for ever so to provide for his church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than at that time.”^d

London petition on behalf of lay preaching.

Oct. 6th.

A great scarcity of ministers was now experienced throughout the country. Many of the royalist clergy having been thrown out of their livings, complaints of spiritual destitution were frequently made to parliament, and various measures were proposed with a view of supplying the deficiency. The presbyterians were as disinclined as their predecessors to sanction any irregular introduction to the ministry, and were peculiarly averse from the partial and temporary employment of lay preachers. The views of the Independents, however, were more liberal; and a petition, signed by many citizens of London, was consequently presented to both houses, complaining of the existing deficiency, and affirming that there were “many men of competent gifts and abilities, of good life and honest conversation,” who were willing to engage themselves in the ministry, and to submit to competent examination, though they entertained scruples respecting ordination. The petitioners therefore prayed, that those who might be “approved of as men meet to dispense the mysteries of the gospel,” might be encouraged to preach in any place throughout England and Wales. The two houses received the petition respectfully, and

^d Hist. of Reb. v. 481—483. Walker, Part I. 122—134. Collier ii. 849—853. Neal iii. 360—400.

referred it to a committee, but no measure appears [CHAP.
to have resulted from it. The unsettled state of ^{XV.}
affairs prevented Parliament from consolidating any ^{CHARLES}
ecclesiastical system ; and the events which shortly
^{I.}
transpired, and threatened the existence of the legis-
lature, necessarily engrossed its attention.^e

Negociations
with the King
in the Isle of
Wight.
1647.

Negociations
with the King
in the Isle of
Wight.
Nov. 18th.

Negociations
with the King
in the Isle of
Wight.
Nov. 26th.

Negociations were now once more opened with the King. He had hitherto rejected all the propositions of parliament ; but it was hoped that the injury done to his cause, by his flight and consequent imprisonment in the Isle of Wight, might render him more compliant. The Scotch commissioners, deeply engaged in intrigues with the Monarch, urged that he should be admitted to a personal treaty ; and a letter was received from the King himself, preferring the same request. There were obvious reasons, however, why the Parliament should refuse to admit him to London, prior to his having conceded their demands ; and it was therefore resolved, after a long debate, that his assent to the four following propositions should be obtained, as the basis of a personal treaty.

1. "That a bill be passed into an act by his Majesty, for settling of the militia of the kingdom.
2. "That a bill be passed, for his Majesty's calling in of all declarations, oaths, and proclamations against the Parliament, and those who have adhered to them.
3. "That those lords who were made after the great seal was carried to Oxford, may be made incapable of sitting in the house of peers.
4. "That power be given to the two houses of

CHAP. parliament to adjourn, as the two last houses of
 XV. parliament shall think fit."^f

CHARLES I. These propositions were submitted to the King, by the commissioners of parliament, on the 24th of December, and were absolutely refused. "His Majesty is very much at ease within himself," said the deluded and intriguing Monarch, in his answer to parliament, "for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently await the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow-subjects' miseries."^g

*His secret
treaty with
the Scotch.*

Charles yet hoped to profit by the intestine divisions of his foes. Commissioners from Scotland arrived in the Isle of Wight the day after those of the Parliament. Their avowed object was to protest against the propositions of the latter, but their real design was to conclude the treaty which had long been on foot between Charles and their nation. During his residence at Hampton Court, considerable progress had been made in the negociation, and now that the King's hopes of assistance from the army were greatly diminished, he yielded some points which he formerly scrupled. The treaty was conducted with the utmost privacy, and was signed

^f May's Second Civil War, Masere's Tracts, i. 108. Parl. Hist. iii. 823. Clarendon's version of these propositions (vol. v. 506) furnishes one of the strongest instances of falsehood to be found in the whole compass of historical writings. By one of them he says, "He was totally to dissolve the government of the church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the church to such uses as they proposed; leaving

the settling of a future government in the place thereof to further time and counsels. In the last place he was in effect to sacrifice all those who had served or adhered to him, to the mercy of parliament." Similar instances of gross mis-statement are of such frequent recurrence in his volumes, as utterly to destroy their historical value.

^g Parl. Hist. iii. 829.

on the 26th of December. It bound the King to confirm in a free parliament, the solemn league and covenant; and to ratify the presbyterian government, the directory, and the assembly of divines, for three years. His Majesty and his household were to be permitted the use of the liturgy; and a consultation of the Westminster Assembly, with twenty divines appointed by the King, and some from the Church of Scotland, was to be held, for the purpose of arranging the future and more permanent form of church government. All heresies and sects were to be suppressed, and one standard of faith and worship was to be enforced.

CHAP.
XV.CHARLES
I.

In return for these concessions, the Scotch pledged themselves to endeavour to compass his Majesty's repairing to London for a personal treaty, and, in case of failure, to issue a declaration "against the unjust proceedings of the two houses of parliament towards his Majesty and the kingdom of Scotland," and to enforce this declaration by advancing a powerful army into England. It would be ungenerous to pass a severe censure on the concessions made by the fallen monarch in this treaty. His situation, it must be confessed, was one of extreme perplexity, and his actions ought therefore to receive the most charitable construction. Clarendon attributes both the demands of the commissioners and the acquiescence of the King to duplicity.^h But this is one of the ungenerous fictions with which his work abounds. The latter

^h Hist. of Reb. v. 529—541. This writer represents the treaty as having been enclosed in lead, and buried in a garden in the Isle of Wight, in order to pre-

vent its coming to the knowledge of parliament. It was afterwards conveyed safely to Scotland. Ib. p. 530.

CHAP. undoubtedly acted in conformity with his general
 XV. character, but the former were too zealously devoted
 CHARLES to the covenant and uniformity to act the base part
 I. assigned them. One thing, however, is evident
 throughout the transaction,—Charles was at length
 willing to surrender episcopacy as the price of his
 restoration. There is no occasion for astonishment,
 or ground for censure in this. It was just what
 was to be expected from the man, however unfitting
 the assumed character of the martyr. “A martyr,”
 says Mr. Godwin, “is he whom no threats, and no
 sufferings, will induce to lend his lips or his pen to
 a sentiment that his heart abhors. Charles may
 have died for the church of England: of that every
 one will judge as he please: but he did not die, be-
 cause he would not set his mind to the giving it
 up.”ⁱ

Effect of his
refusing the
propositions of parliament

The king’s denial of the propositions of parliament was received at Westminster with ominous indignation. It was regarded as a declaration of perpetual hostility, and gave occasion for the utterance of sentiments hitherto cautiously concealed. “The dispute,” says May, “was sharp, vehement, and high; and many plain speeches made of the king’s obstinate averseness, and the people’s too long patience; it was there affirmed that the King, by this denial, had denied his protection to the people of England, for which only subjection is due from them; that one being taken away, the other falls to the ground. That it is very unjust and absurd, that the parliament (having so often tried the King’s affections) should now betray to an im-

placable enemy both themselves and all those friends, who, in a most just cause, had valiantly adventured their lives and fortunes: that nothing was now left for them to do, but to take care for the safety of themselves and their friends, and settle the commonwealth (since otherwise it could not be) without the King.”^k

The most remarkable and ominous feature of the debate, was the charging home upon the King the misconduct of his past government. His name had hitherto been used with respect, and a marked distinction had been drawn between himself and his advisers. But this cautious procedure was now abandoned, “each man,” says Clarendon, “striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his invective.”^l It was ultimately resolved by the Commons, that they would neither make nor receive any further communications from the King, and that the penalty of high treason should be incurred by all who violated this order. The concurrence of the Lords was subsequently obtained, and a declaration was issued from the army, avowing their resolution “firmly to adhere to, and stand by, the parliament, in the things voted concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing of the parliament and kingdom, without the King, and against him or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.”^m

CHAP.
XV.CHARLES
I.Vote of no
more ad-
dresses to
the King.Jan. 4th,
1648.

Jan. 9th.

^k Second Civil War i. 108. Clarendon and Walker supply brief notices of the debates on this memorable occasion. Hist. of Reb. v. 512. Hist. of Indep.

Part I. 42.

^l Hist. of Reb. v. 512.^m May, Masere's Tracts i. 108—111. Parl. Hist. iii. 831—836. Rushworth v. 953—962.

CHAP.
XV.
CHARLES
I.
His infatua-
tion.

These measures were of deep significance; and had Charles been wise, he would promptly have availed himself of the only method of escape now left him. The temper of the parliament and army was no longer to be mistaken, and the king's safety was in an instantaneous and frank recurrence to his people. But this was foreign from his character and views, and he therefore braved the issue. He was warned of the mine which was ready to explode beneath his feet, but so infatuated were his expectations that he refused to escape. The first peals of the bursting thunder, only led him to cling with greater fondness and tenacity to the hopes which were built on his secret treaty and complicated intrigues. Had his conduct been the result of calm and virtuous decision, it would have commanded universal respect. Every upright mind would have applauded his fortitude, and have traced his subsequent career with melancholy interest. His apologists have sought to entrap the sympathies of mankind, by portraying his conduct in the glowing colors of poetry. The affectionate father, the virtuous monarch, the high-minded and devout Christian, have been substituted, for the intriguing, short-sighted, and pitiable Charles. The truth of history, however, must not be sacrificed to the charm of a narrative, or the beauty of a picture.

Second civil
war.
1648.

At the commencement of the year 1648, every thing appeared tranquil. The King was a close prisoner, the Army and Parliament were on friendly terms, and the power of the royalists and of the presbyterians seemed utterly broken. But these appearances were delusive. The captivity of the King, and his apparent high-mindedness in refusing

the propositions of parliament, had excited the CHAP.
compassion, and re-kindled the loyalty, of large XV.
classes. The presbyterians were also dissatisfied CHARLES
with the existing order of things, and the Scotch I.
nation was solemnly pledged to the restoration of
the Monarch. The signs of the times were read
by many, who predicted in consequence renewed
confusion and civil strife. "The parliament," says
a contemporary, "though victorious, though guarded
with a gallant army, no forces visibly appearing
against it, yet was never in more danger. All men
began, in the spring, to prophesy that the summer
would be a hot one, in respect of wars, seeing how
the counties were divided in factions, the Scots full
of threats, the city of London as full of unquietness.
And more sad things were feared, where least was
seen; rumors every day frightening the people, of
secret plots, and treasonable meetings."^a The
storm at length burst upon London, and rapidly
spread through extensive districts of the country.
Insurrectionary movements took place in Surrey,
Kent, and Essex, in the eastern and northern coun-
ties, and in Wales. A considerable part of the
fleet also revolted; and the Scotch army, under the
Duke of Hamilton, consisting of 10,000 foot and
4000 horse, entered England in the month of July,
to aid the royalists in restoring the fallen fortunes
of Charles.^b The Earls of Holland and Peterbo-

^a May, *Masere's Tracts*, i. 112.

^b The Scots were at this time divided into two bitterly hostile parties; the one approving the secret treaty made by the King, the other abhorring it. Hamilton was at the head of the former, and obtained the support of the

parliament; while Argyle, Lou-
den, and Leven, were the poli-
tical chiefs of the latter. The
Kirk ministers belonged to the
party of Argyle, not from hosti-
lity to the King, whose restora-
tion they desired, but from his
refusal to establish the covenant.

CHAP. rough, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Francis
XV. Villiers, and several other persons of distinction,
CHARLES joined the insurgents, whose numbers and zeal
I. served only to arouse to their full height the energies
 of the parliamentary leaders. They were instantly
 in action, and the disciplined troops at their com-
 mand did good service. Fairfax, after suppressing
 the insurrection in London, swept Kent and Essex
 of the royalists; while Cromwell, having reduced
 Wales, hastened by rapid marches to oppose the
 Scotch troops, now united with those under Lang-
 dale. The two armies met at Preston in Lanca-
 shire, and the Lieutenant-General was again victo-
 rious. It was not in the nature of Cromwell to
 leave his work unfinished. He pursued the routed
 forces across the borders; and, arriving at Edin-
 burgh, received congratulatory addresses from
 several of the nobility and gentry, and was styled
 by the clergy "the preserver of Scotland, under
 God." In the meantime the Earl of Warwick
 recovered the command of the fleet, and the supre-
 macy of parliament was once more established.^p

Parliamen-
tary ascen-
dancy of the
presbyterians.

The moderate and temporizing party in the Com-
 mons took advantage of these insurrectionary move-
 ments, to urge the re-opening of negotiations with
 the King. Cromwell and the republican officers
 were necessarily absent with the army, and it was
 hoped, before their return, to obtain such terms
 from the Monarch as would secure the ascendancy

Had Charles openly yielded this
 point, the presbyterians would, to
 a man, have joined against the
 army of English sectaries, but in
 the then state of things they
 hailed as deliverers the very men

whom they had shortly before de-
 nounced as heretics. May, Ma-
 sere's Tracts, i. 120—125.

^p May, Masere's Tracts, i. 113
 —125. Godwin, B. II. Chaps. 17—
 19.

August 20th.
 1648.

of presbyterianism, and the safety of the throne. The presbyterian party was become eminently selfish. It had lost the generous enthusiasm of its early leaders, and was dwindled into a faction, mainly intent on its own aggrandizement. The Independents, at this very time were perilling their lives for “the good old cause,” while their opponents at Westminster were meanly plotting to rob them of the fruit of their victories, and to hand them over, bound and fettered, to the rule of an intolerant and heartless faction. On the third of May, a letter was received from the Scotch parliament, requiring that “reformation and uniformity in religion be settled according to the covenant ;” that the King be permitted to repair, “with honor, freedom, and safety, to some of his houses in or near London ;” that effectual measures be taken “for suppressing and extirpating all heresies and schism ;” and that “the present army of sectaries ” be disbanded, and none be employed in the public service “but such as have or shall take the covenant, and are well affected to religion and government.”^a Numerous petitions were received, about the same time, from various parts of the country, pressing for a personal treaty with the King ; and the Parliament, in which the presbyterians were now dominant, came to the resolution that they would not alter the form of government by king, lords, and commons ; that they were resolved to maintain the solemn league and covenant, and were ready to join the Scots in a treaty

CHAP.
XV.

I.

May 6.

^a Rushworth v. 1100. Parl. Hist. iii. 884.

CHAP. with the King, on the ground of the propositions
 XV. presented at Hampton Court.^r

CHARLES I. The spirit of the ruling party at Westminster was further shown, in an ordinance for “ punishing blasphemies and heresies,” which was carried through the two houses. It was mainly directed against Socinianism, which began to prevail in England, but was made also to bear with fearful severity against several other classes of religionists. It owed its origin to John Biddle, the father of the English unitarians. This fearless assertor of the rights of conscience had already suffered deeply from the parliament. Having written a paper, entitled “Twelve arguments drawn out of the Scripture, wherein the commonly received opinion touching the deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted,” he showed it to some friends, one of whom, in palpable violation of the requirements of friendship, and the confidence of social life, laid an information against him before the magistrates of Gloucester, where Biddle resided. He was in consequence apprehended and committed to the common jail; and, though afterwards liberated on the intercession of a powerful friend, he was wearied by attendances on the Committee at Westminster, to whom the cognizance of his case was referred. Biddle appealed to Sir Henry Vane, the most enlightened public man of the day, who reported his case to the house, and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to obtain his discharge. The spirit of intolerance was too rife to permit its victim to

Dec. 2nd,
1645.

April 1st,
1647.

^r Rushworth v. 1105. Parl. Hist. iii. 886.

Proceedings
against John
Biddle.

escape, and Biddle was therefore committed to the custody of one of the officers of the Commons, — in whose charge he remained for five years. His case was referred to the Assembly of Divines, before whom he frequently appeared. Unconvinced by their reasonings, he did what every honest man is entitled to do,— publish his sentiments to the world, and entreated his countrymen to examine and judge for themselves. His persecutors were incensed at his boldness, and calling in his publication, they ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. Still Biddle was unsubdued, and his conduct entitles him to the admiration of all parties, whatever may be their view of the sentiments he advocated. Instead of succumbing to tyranny, or playing the hypocrite, he printed, in 1648, a “Confession of his faith concerning the holy trinity;” thus carrying his appeal from the usurped jurisdiction of parliament to the conscience and judgment of the nation. His enemies, acting worthy of themselves and of their measures, afford another illustration of the progressive nature of persecution. Having failed to convince, they sought to crush. The language of charity, and of tender compassion for an erring man, was exchanged for the fierce denunciations and terrible penalties of the law. Instead of replying to his arguments, they sought the aid of the magistrate ; and the power with which they were invested constitutes one of the deepest blots on the presbyterian party. The wickedness of their course is undiminished by the erroneousness of the sentiments which Biddle broached. Believing those sentiments to be true—and his whole history proves

CHAP.
XV.CHARLES
I.

CHAP. his integrity—he was not only entitled to publish them, but was bound to do so. To have been silent **XV.** at the dictate of authority would have been to **CHARLES** commit an act of treachery against that Being of **I.** whose oracles he deemed himself a correct expositor. The right and duty of an individual to publish the religious opinions he entertains, is apart from and wholly uninfluenced by their truth or error. To him who entertains them, they are as truth, and he is deficient in honesty if he does not render them the homage to which truth is entitled.

Ordinance
against blas-
phemy and
heresy.
May 2, 1648.

The ordinance passed on this occasion,—“though not without much opposition,”^s—enacted that all persons who, “by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing,” denied the existence or attributes of God, the deity of the Son or Holy Spirit, the existence of two natures in Christ, the efficacy of his atonement, the canonical authority of the books of the old and new testament, the resurrection of the body, or the certainty of a future judgment, should, upon conviction, if the errors were not abjured, “suffer the pains of death, as in the case of felony, without benefit of clergy.”^t Happily for the interests of humanity, though most disgracefully for themselves, the framers of this ordinance defeated their own design, by the all but universal range which they gave to it. Not satisfied with denouncing death against such as held the opinions already specified, numerous minor errors, chargeable upon Arminians,

^s Whitelocke 302.

^t In the copy of this ordinance printed by Crosby, the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, are

omitted from the catalogue of canonical books. The historian had evidently copied from one of the spurious editions of the day.

Baptists, Independents, Episcopalians, and others, were subjected to the milder punishment of imprisonment, until the party convicted of holding them "shall find two sufficient sureties that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more."^u

CHARLES
I.
CHAP.
XV.

It is needless to comment on such a statute. It disgraced the age, and stamps with indelible infamy the men who devised it. As illustrative of the views of the presbyterians, it goes far to justify the violence by which the army prevented their triumph. To have allowed a compromise between them and the King, would have been to surrender the rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship to the merciless rule of a sect, whose own sufferings had failed to soften and liberalize their hearts.

An ordinance was also passed for the more effectual establishment of the presbyterian government, by which it was sought to reduce to one consistent system the several statutes previously adopted. This bill was read a second time, and committed June the 21st, and obtained the sanction of both houses on the 29th of August. It was framed in conformity with the King's demand of liberty of worship for himself and his adherents ; and was designed to enforce on all other classes of the community an unlimited subjection to the ruling

Ordinance
for settling
the presby-
terian govern-
ment.
Aug. 29.

^u Among the alleged errors to which imprisonment was attached are the following. "That the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again ; that the churches of England are no true churches, nor

their ministers and ordinances true ministers and ordinances ; or that the church government and presbytery is antichristian or unlawful." Scobell's Acts, Part I. p. 149. Crosby i. 199. Toulmine's Life of Biddle, 27, 28, 33, 36, 48.

CHAP. XV. church. Had the course of events permitted the enforcement of its provisions, it must have become CHARLES I. a fruitful source of oppression ; but the speedy arrest which was put on the power and designs of its authors, rendered it little more than a dead letter.*

* Whitelocke 309. Scobell's Acts, Part I. p. 118.

CHAPTER XVI.

Treaty of Newport—Cause of its failure—City Petition for justice against delinquents—Remonstrance of the Army—The Concessions of the King voted satisfactory—Hostile determination of the Army—Seizure of members by Colonel Pride—Ordinance for the King's trial—Solemnity of the procedure—The Trial—His Sentence—Execution—Character of the event—Not the work of any religious party—Protestation of the Presbyterians—Independents—Judgment of Mosheim.

WHILE the presbyterian leaders thus signalised their zeal against heresy, they were anxiously seeking to effect some amicable arrangement with the King. They dreaded the return of the army as fatal to their supremacy, and endeavoured to counterbalance it by engaging the co-operation of the Monarch. For this purpose a personal treaty was proposed, and ultimately resolved on, though strongly objected to by Sir Henry Vane and others. Five noblemen and two commoners, together with four divines, were appointed to repair to the King at Newport, and were empowered to continue the treaty during forty days. They arrived in the island on the 15th of September; and the negociation, which commenced three days afterwards, was protracted to the 27th of November. The King was attended by forty-two individuals named by himself, among

CHAP.
XVI.

CHARLES
I.

Treaty of
Newport.

September 1,
1648.

CHAP. whom were the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of
XVI. Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsay,
CHARLES and his chaplains, Juxon, Duppa, and others.^a The

I.

parliamentary commissioners were far from being united in judgment. They consisted of two parties, whose views and policy were irreconcileable. The minority, guided by Vane and Pierpoint, had been alienated from the ancient form of the English constitution by the despotic rule of Charles. They were desirous of establishing a republic, and therefore deprecated the success of the present negociation. They had no faith in the Monarch, but mistrusted the concessions he might make in his hour of adversity. Their aim was to interpose difficulties, to protract the treaty, and thus to prevent the presbyterians from coming to any agreement with the King. The presbyterians on the other hand, who constituted the majority of the commissioners, were eagerly bent on bringing the negociation to a successful issue. They dreaded the energy and growing power of their opponents; they were thoroughly monarchical in their predilections; and were bent on suppressing the sectaries, as the first duty they owed to religion and their country. The three days which intervened between their arrival in the island and the opening of the treaty, was employed in earnestly soliciting the

^a The king's attendants were not permitted to take part in the discussions which ensued. Their presence was at first objected to by the commissioners, but it was ultimately arranged "that they might stand behind a curtain, (Sir Philip Warwick, one of the number, says they "stood about his chair") and hear all that was

said; and when any such difficulty occurred as would require consultation, his majesty might retire to his chamber, and call those to him with whom he would advise, to attend him, and might then return again into the room for the treaty, and declare his own resolution." Clarendon vi. 157.

king's attendants to urge his acceding to their propositions. "The truth is," says Clarendon,<sup>CHAP
XVI.</sup> "there were amongst the commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in." They consequently urged that the Monarch should immediately comply with the propositions of parliament, asserting that if he "did not do it quickly, the army would proceed their own way, and had enough declared, that they would depose the King, change the government, and settle a republic by their own rules and inventions."^b The presbyterians, at this time, were thoroughly alarmed. They had calculated on the success of the Scotch army. This was no secret. It was well known both to their friends and foes, and now that that army was utterly broken, and the troops of Cromwell,—indignant at their supineness,—were returning to London, they saw no hope of perpetuating their rule, but in a compromise with the King.

It would be foreign from the design of the present work to pursue this barren treaty in detail. The King consented to revoke all the declarations he had issued against the parliament, and to vest the military power in the two houses; but refused to take the covenant, or to surrender his

^b Clarendon vi. 155, 156. Burnet says, "All that wished well to the treaty, prayed the King, at their first coming, to dispatch the business with all possible haste, and to grant the first day all that

he could bring himself to grant on the last. Hollis and Grimstone told me, they had both in their turns begged this of the king." Hist. of Own Times i. 80.

CHAP. ^{XVI.} adherents to the threatened vengeance of his conquerors.^c He offered to confirm the Assembly of CHARLES I. Divines, and the presbyterian government, for three

years, provided that himself, and others of his judgment, were not compelled to comply with the same, and that a consultation should be held, of twenty divines of his nomination with the Westminster Assembly, to assist himself and the two houses in determining the future and more permanent form of ecclesiastical government. Long and wearisome debates took place on these and kindred points, in which the King manifested more skill than the commissioners expected.^d Charles could reason better than he could act. His talents were superior to his father's, and he was assisted on the present occasion by the most eminent men of his party.

Cause of its failure. The ground taken by the King was adapted to awaken the sympathy of his subjects, and would have commanded their esteem and admiration, had

^c The utter faithlessness of the King destroyed all confidence in his promises. It was the one quality which was perpetually evinced in all seasons, and under all circumstances. The day on which he assented to the parliament's proposition, respecting the military power, he wrote thus to Sir William Hopkins. "To deal freely with you, the great concession I made this day was merely in order to my escape, of which if I had not hope, I would not have done it. For then I could have returned to my state prison without reluctance; but now I confess it would break my heart, having done that which only an escape can justify." The following day he wrote to Ormond, then in Ireland, "Wherefore I

must command you two things; first, to obey all my wife's commands; then, not to obey any public commands of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland; for they will come to nothing." Towards the close of the month he again wrote to Ormond, "Though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be, concluded, yet believe it not; but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way." Godwin ii. 615, 616.

^d Rushworth v. 1281—1335. Clarendon vi. 157—187.

they confided in his sincerity. But his perfidy was so notorious, that no reliance was placed on his word. He had been so frequently convicted of double-dealing, that he was believed always to have some mental reservation, by which to justify a future violation of his pledges. This was the real source of the failure of the present treaty. His concessions were undoubtedly numerous and great; and, under other circumstances, would have constituted an adequate basis for an amicable arrangement. Had his integrity been unimpeached, parliament would not have dared to vote his answers unsatisfactory. The moral sense of the nation would have required and enforced a different judgment, and the calamities which followed might have been averted. But, with the impression respecting him which was universally prevalent, they could not deem themselves secure, nor the liberties of the people safe, unless he was absolutely deprived of the power of future mischief. His temporary establishment of presbyterianism was therefore regarded but as a hollow truce, designed to afford an opportunity of re-erecting his favorite prelacy. The same remark is applicable to most of his other propositions, and must in fairness be borne in mind, in estimating the conduct of his opponents. The more calm judgment of posterity may incline to the decision, that the constitutional liberties of the nation might have been secured on the basis of the king's concessions; but it is no marvel, that the men who had witnessed his violation of the Bill of Rights—who remembered the incarceration and death of their early friend and leader, Sir John Eliot, and who had subsequently perused the letters

CHAP.
XVI.

I.

CHAP. taken at Naseby, and had become familiar with the
XVI. atrociouſ character of the Irish treaty, ſhould refuſe
CHARLES to truſt his promiſe, or to commit themſelves to his

I. honor.^e The events of the civil war were not ſuited to di‐miniſh his hostility to conſtitutional freedom; and the temper of his adherents was not ſuich as would prompt patriotic and conciliatory advice. Nor is it to be ſuſpoſed that perſonal conſiderations were wholly abſent from the minds of Vane and his associates. They were not, indeed, the men to tremble at imaginary dangers. They had ſtood firm and unyielding amid all the vicissitudes of the war,—their moral courage being always equal to the vastneſs of their conceptions, and the ſuper-human energy with which they threw themſelves into the ſtruggle. The ſame qualities diſtinguiſhed them to the close of life. A change ſubsequen‐tly paſſed on the ſpirit of the nation, but it produced no change in them. They were the ſame men on the ſcaffold as in the ſenate, high in principle, and un‐daunted in ſpirit. But it would be abſurd to ſup‐

^e At this very period, when at large, under a ſolemn promiſe not to attempt an eſcape, he was diligiently de‐viſing the means of doing ſo. “I held intelligence with him,” ſays Ashburnham, “and received commands from him to provide a Barque at Haſtings in rea‐di‐neſs to carry him into France, and to ſend horses again to Netley, and lay others between that place and my house, to the end that if the commissioners of parliament ſhould iſſiſt upon ſuch parti‐cu‐la‐rars in the treaty as his con‐ſcience and honor could not ſubmit to, he might be ſup‐plied with all things neceſſary to his eſcape when he ſhould come on this ſide of the water, which he took

for granted that he ſhould be able to perform, having then no great reſtraint upon him; all which were punctually obſerved; but within twenty days or there‐abouts His Maſte‐ry ſent me the relation of his condition, which he ex‐preſſed to be very melan‐choly, ſome persons very near him having refuſed to ſerve him in his eſcape.” Ashburnham’s Narrative ii. 128. The dupli‐city of Charles on this occa‐ſion muſt not be too ſeverely condemned; but it is utterly abſurd in his apolo‐giſts to hold him up as a pat‐tern of virtue, or to censure the incredulity with which his pro‐miſes were regarded.

pose that they were wholly unmindful of their own safety on the present occasion. They well knew that they had sinned beyond forgiveness, in having curbed the tyranny, and smitten to death the ministers of the King. He might promise to pass this by—might smile in affected friendship, and proffer everlasting peace; but they knew the secrets of his heart, and refused to trust themselves to his power. “The King,” said Sir Henry Mildmay, “was no more to be trusted than a lion that had been caged, and let loose again at his liberty.”^f

The moral courage of the King, at this critical period, has been greatly magnified by his admirers; nor will a generous mind wish to deprive him of any redeeming quality which the season of adversity may have developed; but the truth of history must not be sacrificed to an amiable passion. The welfare of nations is of far more importance than the reputation of a single monarch, however that reputation may be identified with the interests of a powerful party. Charles’s last days were undoubtedly his best days. His bitter reverses, though they had failed to work any change in his temper, had thrown a semblance of moderation over his views, which has beclouded and misled the judgment of posterity. But his moral heroism was far inferior to what his admirers allege. He never realized his danger till within a few days of his death, and it was therefore comparatively easy for him to maintain an undaunted deportment. Before the present treaty was opened, he had been in communication with the presbyterian commissioners.

^f Parl. Hist. iii. 1151.

CHARLES **XVI.** **1.** He knew their mind, and felt assured that he was as essential to their safety as they were to his. He therefore calculated on playing them off against the

army, and fully relied on making what terms he pleased. He regarded them as more hostile to each other than to himself, and expected to be the ultimate decider of their fate. "He fancied," says Burnet, "that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the army, both saw they needed him so much, to give them the superior strength, that he imagined, by balancing them, he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms."^g He hoped to escape to France, whence he expected to return in the full tide of royalty. This was the rock on which the royal vessel foundered, and it must not be lost sight of. It is easy to magnify the heroism of the ill-fated monarch; but it is a fancy picture, and nothing more, which is traced in the coloring of royalist writers, from Clarendon to Hume. He did not believe in the reality of his danger, and was therefore incapable of displaying the superhuman qualities which have been assigned him.

**City petition
for justice
against de-
linquents.**

In the meantime, events were proceeding in other quarters which totally changed the aspect of affairs. The scene was growing more deeply tragical; and Charles, as the hero of the drama, becomes in consequence invested with greater interest than ever. On the eleventh of September, an extraordinary petition, professing to be signed by "thousands of well-affected persons inhabiting the city of London,

Westminster, the borough of Southwark," and places adjacent, was presented to the Commons, which breathed a republican tone hitherto confined to the army. The House, was entreated, among other things, to make good its supreme authority, against "all pretences of negative voices, either in the King or Lords;" to exempt religion from "the compulsive or restrictive power of any authority upon earth;" to abrogate the tithe system, providing "a more equal way of maintenance for the public ministers;" and to bring to justice the capital authors and promoters of the civil war, considering, to use the ominous language employed, "that mercy to the wicked is cruelty to the innocent, and that all your lenity doth but make them the more insolent and presumptuous."^h Other cities followed the example of London, and their petitions gave rise to animated discussions, which elicited the temper and views of the House. The presbyterian party were highly incensed at the language of the petitioners; and, instead of showing any disposition to yield to their demands, pressed forward the treaty with the King. The earnestness with which they laboured to accomplish their policy alarmed their opponents, and led them to recur to measures which precipitated the fate of the monarchy. But another party now interposed, and decided the struggle.

The army was deeply interested, and evinced no disposition to remain idle spectators of what was taking place. Petitions were first presented from separate regiments, and a council of officers was

Remonstrance
of the army.

^h Parl. Hist. iii. 1005—1011.

CHARLES I. **Nov. 20.** **CHAP. XVI.** subsequently appointed, to represent their sentiments, and to enforce their demands. The views of the army were thus combined, and brought to bear with terrible effect on the legislature. A remonstrance, unanimously adopted by the officers, was presented by Colonel Ewer and others, at the bar of the House, in which they prayed that the treaty might be abandoned, that the King might be brought to justice, and that several momentous changes of a republican character might be introduced into the legislature.ⁱ The presentation of this petition gave rise to vehement debates. "It induced," says Whitelocke, "a long and high debate, some inveighing sharply against the insolency of it, others palliated and excused the matter in it, and some did not stick to justify it; most were silent, because it came from the army, and feared the like to be done by them as had been done formerly."^k The several parties were now fairly committed, and neither evinced any disposition to recede. The presbyterian leaders calculated on the violence of the army producing a reaction in the nation, and pressed forward their treaty. The officers, on the other hand, held consultations with some of the republican members, and arranged measures for the crisis which approached. That crisis was hastened by the resolution of the army to secure the person of the King. As a preparatory step to this bold measure, Colonel Hammond was recalled to head-quarters by Fairfax, and the government of the island was entrusted to Colonel

Nov. 21.

ⁱ Rushworth v. 1330—1332.
Parl. Hist. iii. 1077—1127.

^k Memorials 350.

Ewer, a republican officer in the entire confidence of Cromwell.¹ The great difficulty experienced by the Commons was in dealing with the remonstrance of the army. They dreaded the consequences of adopting a resolution against it, and its consideration, fixed for the 27th, was therefore put off by successive adjournments. Like all temporizing expedients, this policy only served to irritate the army, and a resolution was accordingly taken to move towards London. A declaration was issued in vindication of this bold step, in which the parliament was accused of a “treacherous or corrupt neglect of, and apostacy from, the public trust reposed in them;” and an appeal was made from their decision “unto the extraordinary judgment of God and good people.”

This terrified the presbyterians, and rendered them more desirous than ever of closing with the King. On the first of December, his concessions were reported to both houses by the commissioners, and were “long and smartly debated.” The majority appear to have trembled at the probable consequences of the step they were taking. Hence the debate was continued throughout Saturday, the second, and Monday, the fourth. The whole of the following night was consumed in the momentous discussion; and at length, on the morning of the fifth, it was resolved, that the king’s concessions were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom.^m

CHAP.
XVI.
CHARLES
I.

Nov. 29.

The conces-sions of the King voted satisfactory.

¹ Parl. Hist. iii. 1134—1137.

^m Rushworth v. 1349, 1350, 1352. Whitelocke 353. Colonel Hutchinson was a member of the House at this time, and fully sympathized with the republican minority. His “Memoirs” throw

much light on the views and policy of the class with which he acted. He was present during the debate on the commissioners’ report, and his strong feelings,—which are entitled to much weight,—are thus avowed by his accomplished

CHAP.
XVI.
CHARLES
I.

Determina-
tion of the
army.

It was now for the army to decide between absolute submission and force. They determined on the latter; and their choice can scarcely awaken surprise, however it may be regretted and condemned. It was undoubtedly unconstitutional in the highest degree, and its effects were permanently disastrous; yet it must not be forgotten that the troops of Fairfax were not mercenary levies, but men of substantial interest in the commonwealth, whose morals were unimpeached, and their views on many points—and those the most deeply interesting—infinitely superior to their opponents. They had now carried the war to a successful issue; a war, be it remembered, in which they had been engaged by one branch of the legislature against another, in open violation of the letter of the constitution; and they would have been more or less than human, had they quietly submitted to the surrender of all for which they had contended.

biographer. "The commissioners that treated with him (the King) had been cajoled and biased by the promises of great honors and offices to every one of them, and so they brought back their treaty to be confirmed by the houses; where there was a very high dispute about them, and they set up most part of the night, when at length it was voted to accept his concessions, the dissenting party being fewer than the other that were carried on in the faction. Col. Hutchinson was that night among them, and being convinced in his conscience that both the cause, and all those who with an honest upright heart asserted and maintained it, were betrayed and sold for nothing, he addressed himself to those commissioners he had most honorable

thoughts of, and urged his reasons and apprehensions to them, and told them that the King, after having been exasperated, vanquished, and captived, would be restored to that power which was inconsistent with the liberty of the people, who for all their blood, treasure, and misery, would reap in fruit but a confirmation of bondage, and that it had been a thousand times better never to have struck a stroke in the quarrel, than, after victory, to yield up a righteous cause, whereby they should not only betray the interest of their country, and the trust reposed in them, and those zealous friends who had engaged to the death for them, but be false to the covenant of their God, which was to *extirpate prelacy, not to lease it.*" Memoirs ii. 149.

They had been encouraged by the parliament to fight against the King for liberty of conscience, and it need be no marvel, if they now resolved to over-
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XVI.
 awe the parliament in the same sacred cause. Their descendants are in a condition to discern the evils which sprung from such a step ; but this revelation was hid from their eyes. They acted under the impulse of the moment, and for the protection of interests which they deemed the most precious and imperishable.

The same day that the commissioners delivered Dec. 1. their report, the King was removed from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle ; and on the following day Fairfax quartered his troops in Whitehall, St. James's, and other places near the city.ⁿ The resolution of the Commons, declaring the king's concessions an adequate ground for the settlement of the nation, was no sooner known than a consultation took place between the officers of the army and some members of parliament, when “it was concluded,” says Ludlow, “after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed, upon themselves and the nation : that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings ; having engaged in the war, not simply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conscience, being convinced that the cause in which they were engaged was just, and that the good of the people was involved in it.”^o

ⁿ Whitelocke 353.

^o Memoirs i. 269.

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XVI.

CHARLES
I.

Seizure of
members by
Colonel
Pride.

Dec. 6th.

From this consultation, three members of parliament, and three officers, retired to a private apartment to arrange their measures ; and the result was seen on the following morning, when the city guard was withdrawn, and all the approaches to the House were occupied by troops in the confidence of the officers. Colonel Pride was stationed at the door of the House with a list of the members to be arrested. Forty-one were secured ; and on the following day several more were forbidden to enter, though permitted to go at large. The serjeant of the House demanded the release of the imprisoned members without success ; and a committee having waited on Fairfax to enforce the request, he refused them any answer till the decision of the Commons on the proposals of the army was ascertained.^p It was not the least ominous feature of these proceedings, that Cromwell returned from his Scotch expedition on the evening of the same day ; and, having taken his seat among the national representatives, received the thanks of parliament for his eminent services to the Commonwealth.

Ordinance
for the King's
trial.

The triumph of the army was now complete, and no time was lost in improving it. The members who were permitted to assemble, and are known to history as the Rump parliament, were as obsequious as their masters could wish. The votes passed during the recent ascendancy of the presbyterians were rescinded ; and an ordinance for bringing the King to trial was rapidly passed through the lower house, but was rejected by the

^p Rushworth iii. 1353—1356. Whitelocke 354, 355. Ludlow 270—272.

Lords without a division.⁹ The Commons were incensed at this opposition, and having lost all regard for the forms of the constitution, unanimously declared that the people, under God, are the original of all just power; that the Commons assembled in parliament, being chosen by and representing the people, have supreme authority; and that whatever is enacted by them hath the force of law, without consent of king or lords. These resolutions practically annihilated the upper house, and prepared the way for the dark tragedy which succeeded.^r On the same day an ordinance for creating a high court of justice for the trial of the King was again introduced, and two days afterwards was read a third time. Charles in the meanwhile had been removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor, whence he was brought to St. James's, preparatory to his appearance before the commissioners. Jan. 19th.

The scene now enacted in Westminster Hall exceeded, in moral interest and deep pathos, any thing previously known to the history of Europe. Other monarchs had paid for their tyranny by the forfeiture of life, and had died unpitied and abhorred; but such cases had been distinguished by violence, tumult, and blood; the hand of the assassin, or the troops of a successful rival, had been the instrument of public vengeance. But in the present instance the monarch was arraigned by his subjects. A court was constituted to try the indictment, witnesses were examined, the forms of

⁹ The number of peers present on this occasion was greater than usual. Rushworth and Whitelocke state them to have been sixteen, but Mr. Godwin, on the

authority of the Journals, reduces them to twelve. Hist. of Com. ii. 660.

^r Rushworth v. 1383, 1384. Whitelocke 361.

CHAP.
XVI.
CHARLES
I.

Jan. 4, 1649.

CHAP. law were observed, and the temper of the judges was
 XVI. strikingly shown in the open and fearless manner of
 CHARLES their procedure. There were a thousand other
 I. modes of terminating the life of Charles, but it was foreign from the spirit and character of his victors to resort to them. The royalists frequently circulated reports of his intended assassination, but they were ignorant of the men who held his fate in their hands. He was regarded as a public criminal, and treated as such ; and the conduct of his judges, however misguided and deeply to be deplored, was illustrative of some of the highest qualities of which man's nature admits. They esteemed it "more humane, more just, and more strikingly grand, judicially to condemn a tyrant, than to put him to death without a trial."¹

King's trial.
Jan. 20, 1649.

John Bradshaw, a serjeant at law, and chief justice of Chester, was chosen president of the court before which Charles appeared for the first time, on the twentieth of January. The King acted on the occasion with a self-possession and dignity befitting his rank. On entering the court he looked sternly at his judges and the spectators, and then seated himself in the crimson velvet chair provided for his accommodation, "not at all moving his hat, or otherwise showing the least respect to

¹ Milton's Second Defence. "There want not precedents," said the parliament in their *Declaration* of March 21st, "of some of his predecessors, who have been deposed by parliaments, but were afterwards, in darkness, and in corners, basely murdered: this parliament held it more agreeable to honor and justice, to give the King a fair and open trial, by

above a hundred gentlemen, in the most public place of justice: free, if he had so pleased, to make his own defence; that part of his crime being then only objected against him, of which the parliaments of both his kingdoms had, by their joint declaration, formerly declared him guilty." Parl. Hist. iii. 1297.

the court." He refused to recognize the jurisdiction of his judges, declaring "that he saw no lords there which should make a parliament, including the King; that the kingdom of England was hereditary, and not successive; and that he should betray his trust, if he acknowledged or answered to them, for that he was not convinced they were a lawful authority." Bradshaw over-ruled his objection, and required him to proceed; but the King, persisting in his refusal, was remanded to St. James's. The Sunday intervened, and the two following days were occupied in a similar effort on the part of Charles to canvass the jurisdiction of the court. The fourth and fifth days of the trial were employed in hearing witnesses in support of the charge; which, on the sixth, was voted to be proved, and sentence was ordered to be pronounced on the day following.

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XVI.CHARLES
I.

When the court met on the 27th of January, the King requested permission to meet the Lords and Commons in the painted chamber, declaring he had something to communicate "for the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject." His request was denied, as tending only to delay, and Bradshaw proceeded to pronounce the awful sentence of the court. "What sentence," said the president, addressing the King, "the law affirms to a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy to the country, that sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the sentence of the court." The clerk then read the sentence, which, after repeating the charge preferred, and enumerating the refusals of the King to plead, declared, "for all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that he the

His sentence.

CHAP. said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer,
XVI. and a public enemy, shall be put to death by the
CHARLES severing his head from his body." The president
I. declared the sentence to be the unanimous judgment
of the court, "to which," says Rushworth,
"they all expressed their assent by standing up."
Charles now prepared himself for the closing scene.
He awoke, when it was too late, to a full sense of
his danger; and no honorable opponent will hesitate to admit, that his character shone in this hour of
deepest trial more brightly than at any former period.
He won upon the sympathy and admiration of spectators, who forgot his crimes in the spectacle of his
humiliation. His equanimity never forsook him; his
self-possession and dignity endured to the last. His
severest conflict was when visited by the princess
Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester. He placed
the former on his knees, kissed and blessed her;
and the feelings of the father overcame those of the
king. He gave the princess two seals with diamonds,
"and prayed for the blessing of God upon her, and the
rest of his children, and there was great weeping."
Calamy, John Goodwin, and other ministers, offered
their services to pray with the monarch; but he
respectfully declined their attendance, being satisfied with that of Dr. Juxon, his favorite chaplain.^t

^t It is due to Hugh Peters to state, that he obtained for the King the attendance of Dr. Juxon. "What a contrast," remarks a recent historian, referring to the attendance of Juxon, "to the treatment of his grandmother, the unfortunate queen of Scots,—by Burleigh and Walsingham, whose cruel bigotry, or policy if possible more inhuman, deprived her of an

auxiliary so consoling to human infirmity in the agony of the last moments, religious communion,—by Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who outraged her feelings, and assailed her fortitude with all the terrors which the imagination of a bigot could supply to the hatred of a theologian. But Burleigh and Walsingham are canonized politicians, Fletcher was an

The night before his execution the King slept soundly, and on his way to Whitehall received the blessing of many of the crowd. It was evident that the scene enacted outraged the best feelings of the people. The sight of royalty in humiliation and distress—the spectacle of their King led as a public criminal to execution, rekindled their ancient loyalty, and spread over the vast multitude one strong feeling of despondency and grief.^u The reaction which followed at no distant interval, is greatly attributable to the event of that day.^x Charles acted on the scaffold with all the equanimity of conscious innocence. Had he died a martyr, he could not have maintained a more composed or befitting aspect; so anomalous are the exhibitions of human character,—so complex and ill-

orthodox divine—censure must not approach them—whilst Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and Peters, are to be named only with reprobation and reviling.” Contin. of Mackintosh’s Hist. vi. 122.

^u Philip Henry was present at the execution of the King, and notices two remarkable circumstances. “One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, as it were with one consent, as he never heard before. The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing Cross towards King Street, and another from King Street towards Charing Cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to shift every one for

his own safety.” Life of P. Henry, p. 18.

^x The unprecedented success of the *Icon Basilike*, is itself evidence of the fact stated in the text. It was published the day after the king’s execution, and is said to have passed through fifty editions in the course of one year. It was long regarded as a genuine production of the king, and as such has been extravagantly praised. The protraiture of royalty in “solitudes and sufferings” touched the hearts of a generous and forgiving people, and prepared the way for the events of 1660. Dr. Gauden early preferred a claim to the authorship of the work, and his title is now established beyond reasonable doubt. The publication of the Clarendon papers, and of other historical documents, places this beyond question. Clarendon Papers 3. App. 26—31, 95. Hallam ii. 635—642. Todd’s Walton i. 138—147.

CHAP.
XVI.

I.

His execu-
tion. Jan 30.

CHAP. XVI. asserted the attributes which may pertain to the same man.^y It is not the province of the historian CHARLES to pronounce on the future, or to limit the range of

^{1.} divine mercy. Charity will hope that the closing hours of a life distinguished by falsehood, tyranny, and other crimes, was visited by that benign and purifying power, which alone can renovate the heart, and prepare for everlasting peace.

Character of
this event.

It would be beside the province of this work to enter on the several questions, to which the execution of Charles has given rise. It was undoubtedly an unconstitutional and disastrous event, in which the genius of the commonwealth's men was signally at fault. No provision had been made by English law, for the punishment of a king convicted of an attempt to subvert the constitution, and annihilate the liberties of the people. Of this crime, however, Charles was guilty; and the men whom he had sought to crush appealed, in justification of his death, to the first principles of justice, and the acknowledged purposes of human society. "Whatever the matter was," says Milton, "whether we consider the magistrates, or the body of the people, no men ever undertook with more courage, and, which our adversaries themselves confess, in a more sedate temper of mind, so brave an action—an action which might have become those famous heroes of whom we read in former ages; an action by which they ennobled not only laws, and their execution, which seem for the future equally restored to high and low against one another, but even justice, and to have rendered it, after so signal a

^y Rushworth v. 1398—1430. Whitelocke 364—370.

judgment, more illustrious, and greater than in its own self.”^z That the transaction was illegal is universally admitted; but it was an act of substantial justice, due—if death can ever be so—to the crimes which had been perpetrated, and demanded apparently by the necessities of the state. “It is much to be doubted,” says Mr. Fox, “whether this singular proceeding has not, as much as any other circumstance, served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general. He who has read, and still more he who has heard in conversation, discussions upon this subject by foreigners, must have perceived, that even in the minds of those who condemn the act, the impression made by it has been far more that of respect and admiration, than that of disgust and horror. The truth is, that the guilt of the action, that is to say the taking away the life of the King, is what most men in the place of Cromwell and his associates

^z Defence of the People of England. Colonel Hutchinson was one of the most virtuous men of his day, and least injured by the prevalent fanaticism. He was at once urbane, intelligent, and pious; an accomplished gentleman, a brave soldier, and a sincere christian. Being nominated one of the king’s judges, we are told, that “he addressed himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that, if through any human frailty he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, he would open his eyes and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right-enlightened conscience, and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience, that it was his duty to

act as he did, he, upon serious debate, both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, unbiased persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the King. Although he did not then believe but that it might one day come to be again disputed among men, yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God’s and their enemies, and therefore he cast himself upon God’s protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalize his favor afterwards to him.” Memoirs ii 159.

CHAP.
XVI.
CHARLES
I.

CHAP. would have incurred ; what there is of splendor and
XVI. of magnanimity in it, I mean the publicity and so-
CHARLES lemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of
I. displaying. It is a degrading fact to human
 nature, that even the sending away of the Duke of
 Gloucester was an instance of generosity almost un-
 exampled in the history of transactions of this
 nature.”^a

The king's
death not the
work of any
religious
party.

The execution of Charles has generally been attributed, by royalist writers, to the malcontent religionists of the day. Court divines and mercenary scribblers sought, after the restoration, to inflame the worst passions of a licentious court by loading the nonconformists with the guilt of the king's death ; and their representations have been handed down to the present day. The persecutions of the son were stimulated and justified by the alleged murder of the father. In that age of reckless profligacy and fierce intolerance, the most virtuous class of English subjects were exposed to cruel exactions, and protracted imprisonments, as the representatives of a set of tyrannicides. Their personal virtues, their ministerial diligence, their services at the restoration, and their peaceful submission to the new order of things, pleaded ineffectually on their behalf. They were condemned without a hearing, and pined in solitude and penury, the victims of a revengeful and selfish faction. The calmer judgment of posterity is now doing them justice, and their faults are, in consequence, partially forgotten in the recollection of their many virtues.

The death of Charles was not the work of any

* Hist. of James II. 16.

religious party. It was brought about by a rare concurrence of circumstances, and was effected by a combination of men of every variety and shade of religious faith. It is a palpable violation of the rules of historic evidence, to attribute it either to the presbyterians or to the independents. Rapin affirms, that the Rump parliament, which passed the ordinance for the king's trial, was composed exclusively of Independents; but no evidence of the fact is adduced. On the contrary, "it is certain to a demonstration," as is remarked by Neal, "that there were then remaining in the house men of all parties, Episcopilians, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and others."^b No one sect possessed the power, or were animated with the resolution of perpetrating the deed. Individuals belonging to each afforded their sanction, but the several parties, so far as their sentiments could be ascertained, were thoroughly hostile to it. This was emphatically the case with the presbyterians, whose infatuated loyalty towards the house of Stuart, was subsequently evinced at the sacrifice of themselves, and of the kingdom's liberty. So soon as the purpose of the army to bring the King to trial was ascertained, the London ministers, to the number of forty-seven, drew up and published an address, entitled "A serious and faithful representation of the judgment of the ministers of the gospel within the province of London," in which they strongly condemn the proceedings of the officers, and plead the cause of the King, contending that they were bound by their solemn league and covenant to appear

CHAP.
XVI.
CHARLES
I.

Protestation
of the pres-
byterians.

Jan. 18.

^b Hist. of Puritans iii. 460.

CHAP. XVI. “against arbitrary and tyrannical power in the king, on the one hand, and against the illegal proceedings of private individuals, tending to subvert

I.

the constitution and introduce anarchy and confusion, on the other.” The document thus published breathes the free spirit which had formerly struggled against the usurpations of Charles, and should have served to screen its authors from the charge which has been preferred against them. “Examine your consciences,” say the ministers, addressing the men before whom parliament had quailed, “if any number of persons, of different principles from yourselves, had invaded the rights of parliament, imprisoned the King, and carried him about from place to place, and attempted the dissolution of the whole government, whether you would not have charged them with the highest crimes.” Another paper was subsequently drawn up by the presbyterian ministers, and signed by fifty-seven, including nineteen who had not subscribed the former, in which the members of their respective congregations were entreated, among other things, to pray “that God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom the blood of their king.”^c

^c Neal iii. 449—452. Harris’s Life of Cromwell, 203. Burnet expressly excepts the presbyterians from any share in the king’s death, declaring that they “and the body of the city were much against it, and were every where fasting and praying for the king’s preservation.” Hist. of Own Times, i. 85. Baxter bears a similar testimony. He says, “They preached and prayed

against disloyalty ; they drew up a writing to the Lord General, declaring their abhorrence of all violence against the person of the king, and urging him and his army to take heed of such an unlawful act : they present it to the General when they saw the King in danger, but pride prevailed against their counsels.” Sylvester’s Baxter, Part I. p. 64.

CHAP.
XVI.CHARLES
I.Sentiments
of the Independents.

Jan. 25th,

The Independents were necessarily prevented from joining in these memorials, as they emanated from the provincial assembly, which was exclusively presbyterian, and contained sentiments adverse to toleration. But we have it on the testimony of royalists, little inclined to free the Independents from reproach, that some of them, uttered their protest, and exerted their influence, against the execution of the king. "In the mean time," says Dr. Bates, "all the presbyterian ministers of London, in a manner, and more out of several counties, yea, and some out of the Independents also, declare against the thing in their sermons from the pulpit, in conferences, monitory letters, petitions, protestations, and public remonstrances."^d In several parts of the country the two sects united in a public protestation against the violence of the army. The ministers of Oxford and Northampton did so in an address to Fairfax, in which they expressed in strong language, their abhorrence of all proceedings against the king's person and crown; and entreated the general to endeavor to effect a good understanding between Charles, the parliament, and the army. Instead of seeking the monarch's life, with the ferocity and fanaticism imputed by their enemies, they avowed their determination to wash their hands of his blood, and to prove themselves guiltless of the evils which would flow from his death.* Only two of the Independent ministers, Hugh Peters and John Goodwin, and neither of them closely connected with the body, are known to

^d Elenchus 142. Echard, the most partial and least trustworthy of historians, makes a similar

acknowledgment. Hist. of England ii. 626.

* Neal iii. 453.

CHAP. have expressed an opinion favorable to the condemnation of the King.^f The vague import of the term
XVI. CHARLES Independents, and the favor with which Cromwell
I. uniformly regarded the principles and mem-

^f Dr. John Owen preached before the Commons the day following the king's execution, and this circumstance has not unnaturally been referred to by the royalists, in proof of his approval of the deed. In arguing however on this fact, they have grossly violated truth. Had they confined themselves to the presumption it afforded of Owen's agreement with the officers, they would have had a fair case, entitled to consideration, and not to be summarily dismissed. Dissatisfied however with this, they have ventured on statements inconsistent with truth, and easily disproved. The sermon delivered on the occasion was immediately published, with an epistle dedicatory to parliament, and may therefore be compared with the representations of Vernon, Wood, Grey, and others. The Oxford historian, with his accustomed disregard of truth, tells us, "that in the latter end of 1648, when King Charles I. was beheaded, he (Owen) in his discourses and sermons applauded the regicides, and declared the death of that most admirable king to be just and righteous." Athen. Ox. ii. 556. Ed. London 1692. Nothing of the kind can be discovered in the sermon in question, nor in any other preached by Owen; on the contrary, the sermon affords evidence all but demonstrative that the preacher doubted the propriety, if he did not actually condemn, the execution of Charles. The sermon is founded on Jer. xv. 19, 20, and was published under the title of "Righteous zeal encouraged by Divine protection." To omit in such a sermon, delivered on such an occasion, and

in the presence of such auditors, all reference to what had occurred on the preceding day, was to intimate with sufficient distinctness the opinion of the preacher. Had Owen approved the execution of the king, he could not have avoided referring to it. It must have forced itself into his discourse, and have constituted a prominent topic. Nothing of the kind however occurs. A general reference to the state of the nation is made, and language of free and noble expostulation is addressed to the Commons. "Innocent blood," he remarks, in terms which must have startled his hearers, "will be found a tottering foundation for men to build their honors, greatness, and preferments upon. O return not in this unto any. If men serve themselves of the nation, they must expect that the nation will serve itself upon them. The best security you can possibly have, that the people will perform their duty in obedience, is the witness of your own consciences, that you have discharged your duty towards them, in seeking their good, by your own trouble, and not your own advantages in their trouble. I doubt not but that in this, your practice makes the admonition a commendation, otherwise the word spoken will certainly witness against you." The probability is, that while Owen doubted the propriety of what was done, he felt assured of the integrity and high-mindedness of Cromwell and his associates. The former subsequently apostatized from his profession, but as yet he possessed the confidence of some of the noblest men whom the country has produced.

bers of this sect, have contributed greatly to the charge which has been preferred against them. They were the advocates of that toleration which constituted the basis and glory of his policy, and were in consequence the rallying point of many, destitute of their spirit, and unfriendly to their religious views. Subsequent writers have failed to distinguish between the *political* and the *religious* independents of the period, and have thereby been led to involve the latter, in the violent and criminal proceedings, of the former.

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I.

"I am well aware," says Mosheim, who has investigated this subject with his accustomed diligence and impartiality, "that many of the most eminent and respectable English writers have given the Independents the denomination of Regicides; and if, by the term Independents, they mean those licentious republicans, whose dislike of a monarchical form of government carried them the most pernicious and extravagant lengths, I grant that this denomination is well applied. But if, by the term Independents, we are to understand a religious sect, the ancestors of those who still bear the same title in England, it appears very questionable to me, whether the unhappy fate of the worthy Prince above-mentioned ought to be imputed entirely to that sort of men. They who affirm that the Independents were the only authors of the death of King Charles, must mean one of these two things, either that the Regicides were animated and set on by the seditious doctrines of that sect, and the violent suggestions of its members, or that all that were concerned in this atrocious deed were themselves Independents, zealously attached to the religious com-

Judgment of
Mosheim.

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munity now under consideration. Now it may be proved with the clearest evidence that neither of these was the case. There is nothing in the doctrines of this sect, as far as they are known to me, that seems in the least adapted to excite men to such a horrid deed; nor does it appear from the history of these times, that the Independents were a wit more exasperated against Charles than were the Presbyterians. And as to the latter supposition, it is far from being true, that all those who were concerned in bringing this unfortunate prince to the scaffold were Independents; since we learn from the best English writers, and from the public declarations of Charles II, that this violent faction was composed of persons of different sects. That there were Independents among them may be easily conceived.”^g

^g Eccles. Hist. v. 402.

CHAPTER XVII.

False Position of the Republican Leaders—Royalist Members excluded from Parliament—Monarchy and the House of Lords abolished—Ecclesiastical views of Parliament—Dissatisfaction of the Presbyterians—Disappointment of the Republicans—Growth of Cromwell's Power—His Irish Campaign—Rupture with the Scots—Cromwell appointed General of the English Army—His Correspondence with the Edinburgh Ministers—Charles the Second crowned—Ecclesiastical measures in Wales—Endowment of Trinity College—Policy of statutes against Public Vices—Act against Profanation of the Lord's day—Against Incest, Adultery, and Fornication—Against profane swearing—Against blasphemous and Atheistical opinions—Repeal of Statutes against Religious Liberty—Act for the Augmentation of Poor Livings—Provision for the deprived Bishops, Deans, &c.

THE death of the king was followed by an entire alteration of the framework of government. The whole power of the state being in the hands of the army, no time was lost in consummating the policy of its leaders. The favored junto permitted to preside at Westminster, was but the shadow of its former self. It had lost the integrity which formerly commanded the respect and confidence of the nation, and was dwindled into a dependent body, living on the favour, and consulting the pleasure of its masters. Men of republican principles now stepped forward to engraft their views on the institutions of the country; but their position was a false

False position of the Republican Leaders.

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one, and the experiment which they made proved an utter failure. They never had a fair opportunity of reducing their views to practice. From the first, their numbers were inconsiderable. The prevalent feeling of the nation was against them, and the embittered and maddened passions of the civil war, were only smothered for an instant, to burst out with redoubled violence on the first favorable occasion. A capital error had been committed in the execution of Charles. While it gratified the vengeance of the ruling party and established apparently a great political principle, it alienated the public mind, and arrayed the memory of the king in the semblance of high-mindedness and piety. The republican party were therefore compelled to lean on the army, and hence their weakness and failure. Had they appealed to the country, monarchy would have been restored, and the iron and heartless rule of presbytery,—if not that of the bishops,—must have followed. They therefore determined on the experiment of a commonwealth, and it must be remembered, in justification of their sagacity, that the leading officers of the army were among the most zealous advocates of the proposed change. No human foresight could have predicted the apostacy of Cromwell, and had he remained faithful, a different result might have been secured. The combined efforts of such men as Cromwell and Vane, would have gone as far as human agency could go, to insure success. The military genius of the former would have held the royalists in check, while the deep sagacity and far-reaching intellect of the latter, might have remodelled the government, and changed the character of the people. But it is

idle to speculate on what *might* have occurred. History has to do with matters of fact, and to these therefore we return.

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WEALTH.Members ex-
cluded. Feb.
1, 1649.

The policy of the Rump parliament was shown, by a resolution passed on the second day after Charles's execution, excluding from their future sittings all members who had voted on the fifth of December in support of the king's concessions, being a sufficient ground on which to proceed to the settlement of the nation.^a They thus guarded against any effectual opposition to their views, and facilitated their subsequent progress. Having excluded such as were unfriendly to their measures, they were enabled to proceed with rapidity in the construction of their political edifice. The unshaking boldness of the step was confirmatory of the resolution they had taken, and constituted a pledge to their followers, that they had thrown aside the last lingering respect, which as Englishmen, they entertained for the ancient constitution of their country.

Five days later the House of Lords was declared to be "useless and dangerous," and on the following day, monarchy was voted "to be unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest, of the people," and bills were ordered to be brought in for their suppression. This was promptly done, and both were passed without a division, the latter on the 17th, and the former on the 19th of March.^b These organic charges were followed by others of minor importance, and a declaration was published by the Commons, "expressing

Monarchy
and the House
of Lords abo-
lished.

March 21.

^a Whitelocke, 370.^b Whitelocke, 371, 372, 380. Paul Hist. 3, 1292.

**CHAP.
XVII** the grounds of their late proceedings, and of settling the present government in the way of a free state.”

**THE
COMMON-
WEALTH.** In one respect the superiority of the present rulers over those whom they displaced was strikingly apparent. A new oath of fidelity to the commonwealth was devised, and ordered to be taken by the functionaries of government, and subsequently by all members of parliament, magistrates, military officers and clergymen. It was framed in a spirit of liberality hitherto unknown to English statesmen, and presented no bar to the occupation of office by religionists of all complexions and parties. It provided simply for the civil obedience of the subject, —offering no violence to conscience, and presenting no temptation to hypocrisy. The party taking it was required simply to pledge himself “to be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers.” It imposed no religious test as a qualification for civil office, but left unimpaired the natural right of every human being, to adopt whatever form of religious faith he pleased. To have required less would have been to fail in duty to the commonwealth; to have demanded more, would have been to bribe the insincere, and to punish the conscientious. Dr. Walker stigmatizes this oath as “the Independent Covenant,” but fails to establish the analogy which his language suggests.^c

**Ecclesiastical
views of
Parliament.** In the meantime the parliament was not unmindful of ecclesiastical affairs. The circumstances of the day, prevented Sir Henry Vane and others from

^c Clarendon 6. 251. Walker, part I. 146. Parl. Hist. 3. 1334.

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April 3, 1649.

carrying out their views, or the consummation yet to be effected might have been accomplished ; and religion, left to her own resources, have been free to mould and purify the heart of the nation. It was still deemed necessary to legislate for the church. The presbyterians were in possession of her livings, and having long clamored for power were now deeply agitated by the fear of spoliation. To allay the discontent which they awakened, the Commons issued a declaration, affirming that tithes should not be abolished, till another mode of maintaining the ministers of religion "as large and as honourable" was provided ; that the presbyterian government should be maintained ; and that other churches tending "to godliness, and to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ," should be free from disturbance.^d It was much to the honor of the ruling party, that their ecclesiastical views were now as moderate and liberal as when they constituted an inconsiderable minority, pleading against the encroachments and tyranny of the presbyterians. The whole power of the state was in their hands, and they owed no debt of gratitude to their opponents. The advocates of presbytery had sought to

^d Whitelocke, 382. Two days before the passing of this declaration, a petition was presented to parliament from "several churches of God in London, commonly, though falsely called Anabaptists," in which they avowed the cause of parliament, and their obedience to its authority. Their vindication of themselves from the aspersions of their enemies was ac-

knowledged to be satisfactory, and they were informed through the speaker "That they and other Christians walking answerable to such professions, the House did assure them of liberty and protection, so far as God should enable them, in all things consistent with godliness, honesty, and civil peace."

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Dissatisfa-
tion of the
Presbyter-
ians.

rule them with a rod of iron, and failing in this, had attempted a compromise with the king and secretly favored the expedition of the Scots; yet no advantage was taken of their weakness, nor any penalty inflicted for their past tergiversations. They were continued the endowed and patronized sect, though deprived of the power to molest and injure others.

This tolerant policy, however, utterly failed to conciliate them. They were incapable of tranquillity while other religionists were protected by the state. Having succeeded to the possession of ecclesiastical livings, they inherited the spirit of the state-church, and would have crushed with unscrupulous rigor every dissenter from their polity. Their dissatisfaction with the form of civil government now established, was greatly strengthened, if not mainly induced, by the catholic principles on which, it was proposed to conduct the affairs of the church. This was the irredeemable fault,—the unpardonable sin of the founders of the Commonwealth. Had the present rulers consented to indulge the bigotry of the presbyterians, the latter would probably have become reconciled to a republic, and have proved the staunchest opponents of the exiled and worthless house of Stuart. As it was, their dissatisfaction was deep and general, so that in many parts of the country they ventured to refuse the engagement. Some of the episcopal divines, and many of the old cavaliers, submitted to the necessity of the times, and took the oath; but the presbyterians pleaded the obligation of their covenant, and openly impugned the

authority of their rulers.^e Their opposition was not likely to escape the vigilant attention of the government. It was early reported to parliament, and measures were adopted to bring them to submission.

For this purpose a committee was appointed to receive complaints against "such ministers as in their pulpits vilify and asperse the authority and late proceedings of parliament," and several ejectments took place, which were loudly complained of, but which it will be difficult to condemn on any principles of sound policy. The long parliament, during the ascendancy of the presbyterians, had exercised the same power, even while the issue of the

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April 14.

^e Baxter interposed on this occasion with his accustomed zeal, "I spake and preached," he says, "against the engagement, and dissuaded men from taking it. The first hour that I heard of it, being in company with some gentlemen of Worcestershire, I presently wrote down about twenty queries against it, intending as many more almost against the obligation, as those were about the sense and circumstances, —and one that was present got the copy of them; and shortly after, I met with them *verbatim* in a book of *Mr. Henry Hall's* as his own (one that was long imprisoned for writing against Cromwell). Some episcopal divines that were not so scrupulous it seems as we, did write for it, (private manuscripts which I have seen) and plead the irresistibility of the imposers, and they found starting holes in the terms, viz. That by the *Commonwealth* they will mean the present Commonwealth *in genere*, and by (*established*) they will mean only *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and by (*without a king, &c.*) they mean

not *quatenus* but *etsi*; and that only *de facto pro tempore*; q. d. I will be true to the government of *England*, though at the present the king and House of Lords are put out of the exercise of their power. These were the expositions of many episcopal men, and others that took it. But I endeavoured to evince, that this is mere juggling and jesting with matters too great to be jested with. And that as they might easily know that the imposers had another sense, so as really might they know that the words in their own obvious usual sense among men, must be taken as the promise or engagement of a subject, as such, to a form of government now pretended to be established, and that the subject's allegiance or fidelity to his rulers can be acknowledged and given in no plainer words. And that by such interpretations and stretchings of conscience, any treasonable oath or promise may be taken, and no bonds of society can signify much with such interpreters.—Sylvester's Baxter, Part 1, 64.

CHAP. XVII. civil war was doubtful. In all parts of the country where their authority was established, they properly required from public officers,—and among these, the ministers of religion were, unhappily, counted,—that they should be faithful to the popular cause, or at least abstain from aiding the arms of the king. These proceedings, the presbyterians had sanctioned, and even urged on with vehement zeal, and could not therefore with any consistency complain, now that the same principle was applied to themselves. The existing government would have stultified itself, had it permitted the influence of the pulpit to be employed against its civil authority. While tolerant of religious differences, it would have failed in its duty to the Commonwealth, had it suffered the clergy to preach a crusade against its jurisdiction and ordinances.

Disappointment of the Republicans.

While the government was thus assailed by the presbyterians, partly on religious, and partly on political grounds; it was also exposed to considerable peril, from the disappointment it inflicted, on the most sanguine and violent of its own partizans. It failed to realize the hopes—undefined and visionary—which had been awakened during the civil war. That memorable strife had stirred the hearts of the people, and called into action those deep and burning passions, which it is difficult to control and impossible speedily to allay. A vast mass of energy, ordinarily latent, but when moved, impetuous and headstrong, had been called forth and trained to action by the policy of the republican leaders. It had crushed the armies of the king, had broken the power of the presbyterians, had consigned Charles to

the block, and discarded monarchy and an upper house. It had cleared the arena, and now required the construction of an edifice, which should realize the utopian expectations of an over-wrought enthusiasm. Disappointment necessarily followed, and it yet remained to be seen whether the power which had created, would not speedily destroy the republic. The unreflecting republicans of the army, looked for an immediate dissolution of the parliament. They knew nothing of difficulties, they saw nothing of danger. They regarded only their own simple theory, and despised the fears and prudential considerations of politicians. When Vane and his associates therefore hesitated to take this perilous step; when they jeopardized their reputation for consistency by deferring a measure, which could never be recalled, and the consequences of which might prove fatal to their new-born republic, they were loudly condemned by the soldiery as self-seekers and apostates from the truth.^f Hence arose

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^f Mr. Godwin defends, with great ability, the policy of the Commonwealth's men, in not dissolving the parliament; nor is his reasoning shaken, in my judgment, by Mr. Forster, in his admirable Life of Sir Henry Vane, 132. "The present rulers," says the former writer, "saw that it was now but a small portion of their countrymen that were republicans. But a Commonwealth was established; and it could not be overturned without convulsions, bloodshed, the massacre by form of law or otherwise of those whose talents now adorned the helm of public affairs, and without innumerable calamities. According to a common figure, the vessel of the state

would be turned without rudder and guidance into a raging ocean; and upon what rock it would split, and what would be the issue of the adventure, it was not in human sagacity to pronounce. There were besides, two things which the present governors by their energies and perseverance had obtained which they valued above all price. These were the administration of a state without the intervention of a sovereign and a court, and the free and full toleration of all modes of religious worship and opinion. They would have held themselves criminal to all future ages, if they supinely suffered the present state of things, and the present operative prin-

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the Levellers, who availing themselves of the old machinery, by which Cromwell had made the army subservient to his policy in the latter years of the king, now sought to force on the parliament a compliance with their demands. Those demands were neither so absurd, nor so inequitable as is commonly alleged; and the impartial historian will more than suspect that great injustice has been done to the memory of many members of this party. But the genius of the Commonwealth, sustained by the promptitude and energy of Cromwell, who was yet faithful to his high trust, triumphed over the alarming demonstrations of the soldiery; and the supremacy of parliament was for a time confirmed.^g

Growth of
Cromwell's
power.

The fortunes of Cromwell were now in the ascendant. The concentrated energy of his character, the promptitude and vigor of his decisions, his

ciples to pass away if they could be preserved.

Cromwell, and Ireton, and Vane, and the rest were intimately persuaded that by a judicious course of proceeding these advantages might be preserved. If things were allowed to continue in their present state, and if by a skilful and judicious administration, the Commonwealth came by just degrees to be respected both abroad and at home, they believed that many of those persons who now looked upon it with an unkind and jealous eye, would become its warmest friends. They felt in themselves the ability and the virtue to effect this great purpose. . . . And then how glorious would be the consummation, to convert their countrymen to the cause of freedom, by honours and benefits, to instil into them the knowledge of their

true interests by the powerful criterion of experience, and finally, to deliver to them the undiminished and inestimable privileges of free-men, saying, Exercise them boldly and without fear; for you are worthy to possess them."—Hist. of Commonwealth, 3, 117—119.

^g Whitelocke, 385. Hutchinson, 2, 127. Godwin, 3, 64—82. The following were among the demands of the Levellers. That parliaments should be annual; that there should be no laws "to compel in matters of religion;" that none "be compelled to fight by sea or land against his conscience;" that there should be no imprisonment for debt; that none be executed "but for murder or the like;" that tithes should be abolished; that every parish should choose its own minister; and that none should be excluded from civil office "for his religion only."

military genius, his all but omniscient perception of the character of others, and the profound subtlety with which he was accustomed to veil his schemes and to control the passions of his followers, so as best to subserve his own designs, had been gradually preparing the way for his dangerous elevation. He felt himself superior to all about him. Vane alone was entitled to contest the palm; and he was totally deficient in the qualities of a military commander. In the senate, the pure republican must have triumphed; but Cromwell threw into the scale, the weight of an army passionately devoted to his interests, and which he alone was competent to rule.

His power was consolidated, by the astonishing rapidity with which he swept the kingdom of Ireland during the autumn of this year, and the spring of 1650. The royalists had gathered strength in that kingdom, and Cromwell was deputed by the too credulous parliament to subdue them. He landed in Dublin on the 15th of August, and though the success of his military achievements added greatly to his renown, it would have been well for his reputation, if his Irish campaign had never been fought. No words can extenuate the enormities he practised; nor can any considerations of political expediency, or of the prior cruelties of the Irish Catholics, justify the wholesale butcheries which were perpetrated. There is a revolting consistency in the treatment which has been dealt out to the inhabitants of Ireland. Whether governed by the haughty Strafford, or by Cromwell, the offspring, and hitherto the servant, of a popular revolution; their rights were equally despised, and their interest in the

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common sympathies and claims of humanity rejected. The foot of the conqueror was placed on the neck of a prostrate people ; and the very tenacity of religious faith was pleaded, in justification of the wrongs and murders practised on them. In the present instance, the recollection of recent outrages was added, to the frenzy of religious fanaticism and the bitter hatred of party strife. Cromwell's letter to the speaker, Sept. 17th, 1649, is sufficient evidence against him. It relates to the storming and capture of Drogheda, and describes, without compunction, or any attempt at extenuation, the horrible barbarities which were practised. The sanction of a merciful God was never claimed on a viler outrage. Two thousand men are said to have been killed on the first night of his entering the town ; and on the following day, when one of the towers which had held out against his attack submitted, "their officers," we are coolly informed, "were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes. I am persuaded," adds the future dictator, "that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future ; which are the satisfactory ground to such actions, which, otherwise cannot but work remorse and sorrow."^h It is but justice to the memory of Cromwell, while expressing an abhorrence of his indiscriminate and systematic slaughter on this occasion, to record that his rule was equitable and

^h Harris's Life of Cromwell, 223.

kind to the unarmed and peaceful. He knew that the immediate extinction of the Irish rebellion was essential to the stability of the English government. Hence, the rapidity of his movements, and the terrible vengeance he inflicted on those who resisted his progress. His object was thought to justify the means he employed, while the cruelties which had been practised by the Catholics, steeled his heart against every emotion of pity. His severity was strictly limited to the supposed necessity of the case, and was strangely blended in some departments of his government, with a mild and tolerant policy hitherto unknown in the administration of Irish affairs. “He was terrible, only,” remarks a historian who has severely condemned his military executions, “when the sword was unsheathed; he enforced the strictest discipline upon his army towards those who did not appear in arms; he forbade his soldiers to take anything from the people without due payment, on pain of death; and, without granting open toleration, which, under the circumstances, was scarcely in his power, he did not molest the Catholics for their religion.”ⁱ

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Cromwell was speedily recalled from Ireland, by the more imminent danger which threatened the young republic, from the now obvious designs of the Scotch presbyterians. Those designs had been long suspected, and measures were accordingly taken to frustrate them. The alienation of the Scotch from the English parliament was no longer concealed. It had arisen from various causes, and had been evidenced by a decided and somewhat bold policy.

Rupture with
the Scots.ⁱ Cont. of Mackintosh's Hist. of England, 6, 144.

CHAP. XVII. No sooner was the death of Charles known in Edinburgh, than his son was proclaimed "King of Scotland by the whole parliament with great solemnity," and commissioners were appointed to wait on him at the Hague, and to invite him to repair to the city of his ancestors.^j Several communications passed between the Scotch and English parliaments; in which, the former insisted on the enforcement of their ecclesiastical system, and required that nothing should be done to prejudice the title of the young prince. The English parliament resented this interference with their supremacy, and proceeded to declare the letter of the commissioners "to contain much scandalous and reproachful matter," and to evidence a design "to raise sedition, and grounds of a new and bloody war." The commissioners were put under arrest, and all persons joining with them were declared to be traitors and rebels, and were ordered to be proceeded against as such.^k A rupture was now inevitable, and both parties prepared accordingly. The Scotch relied on the aid of the English presbyterians; while the parliament summoned to its defence, the military skill and unconquered prowess, of the victor of Naseby and Marston Moor.

^j The conditions imposed by the Scotch retarded their negotiation with the young prince; but a sense of common interest ultimately brought them to terms. "If," says Baillie, Sept. 14, 1649, "either we neglect to seek him, or he continue to refuse our conditions, the ruin of both seems to be near; and though he were joined with us in our terms, yet he has delayed so long, that our

difficulties and his would be insuperable, but by the hand of God. Always, we would suffer all hardships with the greater comfort, that he and we were conjoined in God against the common enemy of God, of his house, and our country." Letters, II., 346.

^k Whitelocke, 375, 377, 378. Godwin, 3, 202—206.

Cromwell appeared in his place in parliament, June 4th, and received the thanks of the House "for his faithful services," and on the 12th of the same month, was constituted lieutenant-general of the army designed for the invasion of Scotland.¹

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Fairfax was appointed to the command of the English army, but declining the post, it was immediately conferred on Cromwell, who, three days afterwards, left London for the North. Having observed a fast at Durham, "to pray for a blessing upon their expedition," he entered Scotland, prompted both by disposition and by policy, to bring the war to a speedy termination.^m The situation of Charles

Cromwe'l ap-
pointed Gen-
eral of the
English Ar-
my.

June 29.

¹ Parl. Hist., 3, 1347, 1349.
^m Ibid., 1350, 1352. It has been customary to represent the resignation of Fairfax as a result of the intrigues of Cromwell; yet it is difficult to believe that such was the fact. No intimation of the kind was given by Fairfax, to the committee appointed by the Council of State, to wait on him with the view of removing his objections. His only plea was the covenant which had been entered into with the Scots, and the violation of it which would be involved, in an invasion of their country. He pleaded scruples of conscience, as the only bar to his compliance with the request of parliament, and avowed his readiness in the case of the Scots entering England, to lead the army against them. Cromwell was one of this committee, and from the accounts of Whitelocke and Ludlow, it is evident that he did his utmost to remove the scruples of Fairfax. His insincerity on this occasion has been inferred from what subsequently took place. But, "What" as Mr. Godwin asks, "were these circumstances? Why, that, when it was sufficient-

ly known that Fairfax would not be moved from his purpose, Cromwell immediately accepted the appointment to succeed him. Surely this is very slight evidence. What Whitelocke and Ludlow believed while the scene was passing, every candid mind will believe now."

The former writer tells us that Fairfax at first liked the appointment, but was afterwards dissuaded from it by the presbyterian ministers and his lady. Mrs. Hutchinson, who freely exposes the subsequent apostacy of Cromwell, gives a similar account, and that on authority which it is difficult to dispute. "My Lord Fairfax," she says, "persuaded by his wife and his chaplains, threw up his commission at such a time, when it could not have been done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest. Col. Hutchinson and other parliament men, hearing of his intentions the night before, and knowing that he would thus level the way to Cromwell's ambitious designs, went to him and laboured to dissuade him, which they had effected, but that the

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in the mean time, was far from being enviable. He was only the nominal head of the confederacy formed in his behalf. Immediately on landing in Scotland, he was surrounded by the most violent adherents of the Kirk; who enforced on his gay nature, an austerity of demeanor and a protracted attention to religious services, which deepened his hatred of presbyterianism. He was not allowed to walk abroad on the Sunday, and if at any time dancing or cards was indulged in, at his court, he was severely reproved. Charles was galled by this restraint, but being equally destitute of personal integrity, and of religious principles, he played the hypocrite as successfully as was in his power. On the sixteenth of August, he published a declaration avowing his father's guilt in having married into an idolatrous family, and imputing to him the blood shed in the civil war. He acknowledged the prejudices against true religion which he had early imbibed, confessed the guilt of his former life, and solemnly protested his present sincerity, and his determination to persevere in the good course on which he had entered. The base hypocrisy of his conduct was only equalled by the folly of those who relied on his word. The son who could thus openly dishonor the memory of his father, and

presbyterian ministers wrought with him to do it. He expressed that God laid him aside as not being worthy of more, nor of that glory which was already given him. To speak the truth of Cromwell, whereas many said he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for in Col. Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importuned him to keep his commission, lest it should discourage the army and

the people in that juncture of time, but could by no means prevail, although he laboured it almost all the night with most earnest endeavours. But this great man was then as unmoveable by his friends as pertinacious in obeying his wife."—White-locke, 444—446. Ludlow, 1—315. Hutchinson, 2, 171—173. Godwin, 3, 215.

insult his living mother, was not to be restrained by any sense of moral obligation, from violating the most sacred engagements. The measures of the presbyterians, were indeed, both impolitic and ungenerous. They served to disgust and alienate a prince, whose only law was his own unbridled and reckless passions. Had Charles possessed a particle of sincerity or of self-respect, he would have spurned the conditions they imposed, but being told they were necessary for his affairs, “he resolved,” says Burnet, “to swallow the pill without further chewing it.”ⁿ

In the meantime Cromwell and the Scotch general Leslie, were engaged in a series of skilful manœuvres. The forces of the latter greatly exceeded those of the former in number, but the advantages of discipline and of an entire confidence in the skill of their leader, were with the English. The battle of Dunbar consequently terminated in their favor, and enabled Cromwell to take possession of Edinburgh and Glasgow. This victory was decisive of the fate of Scotland, and materially altered the position and views of the prince. Clarendon represents him as gratified rather than otherwise by the defeat of the Scotch army, from an apprehension that a different result, would have been followed by some abridgment of his personal freedom.^o

Sept. 3.

On Cromwell’s victorious return to Edinburgh, the presbyterian ministers shut themselves up in the castle of that city. They dreaded equally his principles and his power; but so far was he from designing the violence they anticipated, that he invited them to

Cromwell’s
correspond-
ence with the
Edinburgh
ministers.

ⁿ Own Times, 1, 99, 104.^o Hist. of Reb., 6, 457.

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return to their churches, promised them protection and liberty of worship. The correspondence which took place on this occasion, exhibits in striking contrast the policy of the two parties.

"The ministers of England," says the Lord-General, in reply to the charge of persecution preferred against his government, "are supported and have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail; nor under pretence thereof to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the gospel, nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the army hither."

The Scotch clergy protested against the preaching of laymen, which was allowed by the English general; and claimed for their own order the exclusive right of ordaining to the ministry. This was assailing the stronghold of Cromwell's tolerant policy, and he met it with an indignant refutation, "We look upon ministers," said his reply, "as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any denying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of sectary. And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in scripture that preaching is included in your functions? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, he hath none at all. I hope he that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he please; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy; you know who

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bids us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy."—"Are ye troubled," he asks, "that Christ is preached? Does it scandalize the reformed kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the covenant? Away with the covenant if it be so. I thought the covenant and those men would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ. If not, 'tis no covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you mention so much the spouse of Christ."^r

The battle of Dunbar broke the power of the rigid covenanters, and taught the Scots, the necessity of treating Charles with greater moderation and respect. Disgusted with the Duke of Argyle and his party, the young prince attempted an escape to the Highlands, but was overtaken, and in a somewhat equivocal manner induced to return. The effort, however, served to alarm the covenanters, and wrought a marked alteration in their deportment towards him. Preparations were accordingly made for his coronation, which took place "with great solemnity and magnificence" on the first of January, 1651. The scene enacted on this occasion was in perfect keeping with the whole course of the young prince in Scotland, and was the most disgracefully hypocritical, ever exhibited on the theatre of human action. On his bended knees, with uplifted hands, Charles swore to observe the two covenants; to establish the presbyterian government both in Scotland and in his other dominions; to rule according to the law of God; to abolish all false religions, and to root out all heretics. The

Charles the
Second
crowned, Jan.
1, 1651.

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crown was then placed on his head by Argyle, and an oath of fealty was taken by the nobility and people, “according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant.” It is needless to comment on such a farce. It was a worthy commencement, of one of the most inglorious careers ever run by human prince. Had Cromwell been the actor on this occasion, volumes would have been written on the depth of his dissimulation and treachery.⁹

Ecclesiastical
measures for
Wales.

Feb. 22, 1650.

The attention of parliament was not wholly engrossed with the military transactions of this year. The spiritual condition of Wales claimed and obtained its notice. The people of the Principality were grossly ignorant, and the ministrations of religion had become unfrequent and lifeless. The clergy were for the most part, indolent and uninformed; unacquainted with the doctrines of the gospel, and therefore unfit to enforce them on others. To this state of things parliament early directed its attention, and measures were adopted to remedy the evil. With such a view an Act was passed “for the better propagation and preaching the gospel in Wales,” and for “ejecting scandalous ministers, and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances,” which appointed commissioners to receive the proceeds of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations and glebe lands which were then, or might hereafter, be under sequestration or at the disposal of parliament. From the fund thus created a yearly maintenance was to be allotted to those ministers and schoolmasters who were approved; and a general system of

⁹ Clarendon, 6, 488. Oldmixon's Stuarts, 391. Grey, 3, 112—125.

itineracy was encouraged. The act was to continue in force for three years from the 25th of March, 1650.^r The provisions of this Act, though sometimes probably enforced with too much rigor, conduced greatly to the benefit of the people. An ignorant, idle, and immoral clergy, were supplanted by more honest and active men, who labored with unwearied diligence in the spiritual cultivation of the rude district. So early as September, 1652, it was reported to the House, that there were one hundred and thirty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market town, one schoolmaster was located, and in several of the larger, two; and that the tithes were employed, according to the directions of the Act, in the support of ministers and schoolmasters, the relief of the widows and children of the ejected clergy, and other suitable ways.^s An opportunity will presently occur, of tracing the further measures which were adopted, for the reformation of the Welsh clergy and their churches.

About the same time, the watchful eye of parliament was directed to the state of Ireland, now prostrate at the feet of Cromwell; and an act was passed “for the encouragement and increase of learning, and the true knowledge and worship of God, and the advancement of the protestant religion” in that distracted country. By this act, all the lands belonging to the late Archbishop of Dublin, together with those of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick, and some pertaining to the bishopric of

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WEALTH.Endowment
of Trinity
College.

Mar. 8, 1650.

^r Scobell, P. 2, pp. 104, 347. ^s Whitelocke, 518. Calamy's Comp. of the Church and Dissenters, 47.

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Meath, were vested in trustees, for the benefit of Trinity College, the erection and support of another similar institution, and the establishment and maintenance of a free school.^t This was a measure worthy alike of the sound sagacity, and of the protestantism of parliament. It was a legitimate application of the ecclesiastical property at their disposal; and had it been followed up in subsequent times, Ireland would now present a different spectacle to the eye of Europe. To improve the education, and to enlarge the intellect of a people, is the surest way to rescue them from the dominion of superstition and priestcraft.

Policy of
parliamentary
statutes
against public
vices.

Several laws were passed for the suppression of vice, and the promotion of public morality. These were held to be legitimate subjects of legislation, and an attention to them was now enforced by policy, no less than by religious principle. The present rulers of the nation were engaged in an enterprise of unparalleled difficulty, and could only hope to succeed, as they invigorated and raised the tone of public feeling. Having demolished the ancient landmarks

^t Scobell, P. II., p. 104. The attention of parliament was earnestly directed towards Ireland by Dr. Owen, in a sermon which he preached before the house, Feb. 28, 1649-50. The preacher had just returned from Ireland, whither he had accompanied Cromwell, and the following passage occurs in his sermon. "I would there were for the present one gospel preacher for every walled town in the English possession in Ireland. The land mourneth, and the people perish for want of knowledge; many run to and fro, but it is upon other designs; knowledge is not increased. They are sen-

sible of their wants, and cry out for supply. The tears and cries of the inhabitants of Dublin, after the manifestations of Christ, are ever in my view. If they were in the dark, and loved to have it so, it might something close a door upon the bowels of our compassion; but they cry out of their darkness, and are ready to follow every one whosoever, to have a candle. If their being gospelless move not our hearts, it is hoped their importunate cries will disquiet our rest, and wrest help, as a beggar's doth an alms." Works, 15, 287.

of english sympathy and action, they were concerned to generate a new order of sentiments, nobler in its character and more ample in its range. For this purpose they sought to banish vice from the walks of public life,—to brand it with infamy,—to coerce it from society as its weakness no less than its disgrace. In pursuing this object, they were not sufficiently mindful of the delicate nature of their task. Their vocation was high and holy, but the mode in which they sought to accomplish their object, frequently tended to its defeat rather than its furtherance. Men are not to be drilled into morality,—they cannot be made virtuous by laws. Vice may be driven from the walks of public life, but unless the sentiments of a community be improved,—unless its moral judgments be rectified, the same propensities will be indulged under other forms—forms less obtrusive, but not less fatal. The unnatural restraint under which the English people were held during the ascendancy of parliament, formed an artificial character, and reacted with fearful energy at the restoration. At the same time, it should in fairness be remembered, that the men who now ruled the nation combined, with laws against specific vices, a vigorous and effective course of religious training. The result of the two processes was a mixed state of things. There was much of good, and much of evil, in the existing condition of society. The elements of light and darkness were strangely blended; religious principles were gathering strength for the conflict they subsequently sustained; while hypocrisy was preparing a large portion of the people, for the infidelity and licentiousness which flourished under the patronage of the second Charles.

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Act against
profanation
of the Lord's
day.

April 19, 1650.

Against in-
cest, adultery,
and fornication.

May 10, 1650.

Against pro-
fane swear-
ing.

June 28, 1650.

Several laws were passed for the better observance of the Sabbath. Amongst these was one "for inflicting certain penalties for breach of the Lord's day and other solemn days," which provided that all goods put to sale on such days should be forfeited, and that all travellers, wagoners, and others following their ordinary avocations, should forfeit ten shillings. The same fine was to be exacted from persons travelling "with boat, horse, coach, or sedan," except in going to, or returning from church, and for frequenting taverns and alehouses, or for indulging in dancing, or profane singing.^u

An Act was also passed against incest, adultery, and fornication, which inflicted death, without benefit of clergy, in the case of the first two of these crimes, and provided that parties guilty of the last, should suffer three months' imprisonment, and give security for good behaviour during a year. Every brothel-house keeper was made liable for the first offence, to be publicly whipped, to be set in the pillory, and to be branded in the forehead with the letter B, to be committed to the house of correction for three years, and to give security for good behaviour during life. A repetition of the offence was punishable by death without benefit of clergy.^v

Another Act singularly characteristic of the age, was passed at this time "for the better preventing and suppressing of the detestable sins of profane swearing and cursing." A fine of thirty shillings was imposed on every nobleman, twenty shillings on a baronet, ten shillings on an esquire, six and eight pence on a gentleman, and three and four

^u Scobell, Part II., p. 119.

^v Ibid., Part II., p. 121.

pence on all inferior persons. The fine was to be doubled for the second offence, and on the tenth conviction, the party was to be held a common swearer, and was to be bound over to his good behaviour for three years.^w

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phemous and
atheistical
opinions.

Aug. 9.

Not content with these laws against specific vices, the parliament proceeded to enforce its previous ordinances against atheistical and other mischievous opinions. In their declaration of Sept. 27th, 1649, the Commons had defended their tolerant policy against the charge of lukewarmness and latitudinarianism, advanced by their enemies;—affirming their true aim in the liberty they gave, to be none other than the encouragement “due to all that are lovers of God, and the purity and power of religion;” and declaring that, by whomsoever they should find this liberty abused, they would testify their “displeasure and abhorrency thereof, by a strict and effectual proceeding against such offenders.” In consonance with this declaration, a bill was now passed for the punishment of atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions; which arose apparently from the monstrous dogmas broached by some fanatics of this period. The crimes condemned in the Act are, an assumption of the name or attributes of God, a denial of his holiness, and a maintaining that unrighteous, profane swearing, drunkenness, and other vices are not forbidden, or are in their nature as commendable and holy “as the duties of prayer, preaching, or giving of thanks.” Many corollaries from these opinions, equally absurd and detestable, are specified, and the whole are denounced as most monstrous, and

^w Scobell, Part II., p. 123.

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Six months' imprisonment was to be inflicted for the first offence, and in the event of a second conviction, banishment from the realm, with the penalties of felony in case of return. The party guilty was to be indicted within six months of the commission of the crime.^x Such a statute was in perfect keeping with the spirit of the age, and has in substance, been repeated in more liberal times. Yet it is impossible to vindicate the principle on which it is based, or to reconcile with that principle, those large and tolerant views, which the nature of man and the genius of Christianity enforce. The cases contemplated by the statute were undoubtedly extreme ones, but if *opinions* constitute legitimate subjects for legislation in one case, it will be difficult to say why they do not in all.

Penal sta-
tutes against
religious li-
berty, re-
pealed.

It was now no secret that the English presbyterians sympathized with their brethren in Scotland, and wished success to their arms. They had succeeded in dissuading Fairfax from accepting the command of the army, and complaints were continually brought to Westminster of the efforts of their ministers to damp the ardor of the people, and even to deter the soldiers from proceeding on the expedition.^y It was, therefore, the policy of parliament, as well as consistent with their avowed principles, to attach the other religious bodies of the Empire to their service, by repealing those statutes

Aug. 16, 1649. which had been devised for their suppression. This had

^x Scobell, Part II, p. 124.

^y Baxter was extremely zealous on this occasion; and it argued great forbearance on the side of

parliament that he was not subjected to punishment. Life, Part I., p. 66.

been urged during the previous year by Fairfax and his officers, and had been enforced by Cromwell, immediately prior to his embarking for Ireland. The petition of the officers was cordially entertained by the House, and it was resolved "that all penal statutes and ordinances, whereby many conscientious persons are much molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered "should be repealed; and it was referred to a committee to bring in a bill to that effect."^z The matter appears to have stood over for a time, probably owing to the critical state of public affairs; and to the solicitude of parliament, not to give additional offence to the English presbyterians. But no sooner was the Scotch army defeated at Dunbar, than an ordinance was issued, annulling various obnoxious statutes which the intolerance of a former age had devised. The preamble set forth "that diverse religious and peaceable people, well affected to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, have not only been molested and imprisoned, but also brought into danger of abjuring their country, or, in case of return, to suffer death as felons" by several laws passed in former times: and the statute then proceeds to repeal the 1st, 35th, and 23rd of Elizabeth, and every clause of any other Act, whereby a penalty is imposed on any person "for not repairing to their respective parish churches, or for not keeping of holydays, or for not hearing common prayer, or for speaking or inveighing against the book of Common Prayer." The design of this statute was to protect dissenters from the severity of the established clergy, by depriving the latter of

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^z Whitelocke, 404, 405.

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XVII.** the means of annoyance and injury which were furnished by the laws of Elizabeth. So far, it was constructed on a sound and enlightened basis; but, in contravention of its better spirit, it proceeded to enforce on all members of the Commonwealth an attendance at some place or other, on the public services of religion. Men might go where they pleased, they might adopt whatever form of protestantism they liked best, but he who neglected public worship was declared a defaulter, and was to "be proceeded against accordingly."^a By such a limitation (unless it be considered as enforced by the circumstances of the day) the framers of this law evinced, that even they, were but partially acquainted with the great doctrine of religious liberty. The right to think and act for themselves in matters of faith and worship, belongs to men as such. It is inherent in their nature, and can neither be resigned, nor be wrested from them. The irreligious man possesses it, as strictly as does the man of piety, and it is equally absurd and criminal to attempt to deprive him of it. We may deeply deplore the impiety of others, but shall fail to evidence a better spirit, if we attempt to coerce them into an observance of religious forms.

*Act for the
augmenta-
tion of poor
livings.*

The unequal distribution of the revenues of the church among its ministers, early engaged the attention of parliament, and several statutes were passed for the correction of the evil. All ecclesiastical dignities were suppressed, and the lands and other properties which had pertained to them were confiscated, for the use of the State. So far

^a Scobell, Part II., p. 131. Godwin, 3, 504—506.

the civil power enriched itself by the spoils of the Church. The hierarchy was humbled; but the necessities of the poorer and more laborious clergy, were unsupplied. An Act was consequently passed, June 8, 1649, for “the maintenance of preaching ministers, and other pious uses,” which vested all tithes, oblations, and other ecclesiastical offerings that had pertained to the dignitaries of the Church, together with the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical livings, in the hands of trustees, for the payment of the salaries of preaching ministers and schoolmasters. Each incumbent was to be secured a stipend of one hundred pounds; and the Commissioners of the great seal, were empowered “to inquire and find out the true yearly value” of all benefices, and to report the same unto the Court of Chancery.^b

A subsequent Act provided, that part of the proceeds, accruing from the sale of ecclesiastical property, should be appropriated to the support of such bishops, deans, and other officers, as had been impoverished by the operation of previous statutes.^c This was a merciful and wise provision; and though the design was, probably, but imperfectly carried out, it sets the conduct of the leaders of the Commonwealth, in honorable contrast with that of the ministers of Charles the Second. The difficulties of the period may fairly be allowed to have interposed obstructions to the execution of such a design, which must have been augmented by the ignorance and bigotry of minor agents: but the statute was obviously framed, in a spirit of consideration and kind-

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WEALTH.Provision for
the deprived
bishops,
deans, &c.

April 5, 1650.

^b Scobell, P. II. 41.^c Ibid., 111.

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XVII. ness, that ought to have protected its framers, from

^{THE}
COMMON-
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they have been assailed. To have entertained such
a proposition, in the then infuriated state of parties ;
was to evidence a high-mindedness and political
sagacity, to which Clarendon and his associates
could lay no claim.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Renewal of Scottish Campaign—English Presbyterians correspond with Charles—Trial and Execution of Lovelace—Charles enters England—Battle of Worcester—Dangerous position of Cromwell—Settlement of Scotland—Ecclesiastical condition—Growing ambition of Cromwell—His consultation with Officers and Members of Parliament—Conversation with Whitelocke—Dissolution of Parliament—Its character—Testimony of Ludlow—Whitelocke—Roger Coke.

ON the opening of the year 1651, the attention of parliament was again drawn, to the state of its military operations in Scotland. The success of Cromwell in the previous year, had strengthened rather than otherwise, the young Prince Charles, by uniting the two sections of his followers, who had previously refused to co-operate. The rigid covenanters were compelled to associate with the gay royalists ; and the whole nation confederated to put down the English republicans. So high were their hopes, that they talked of entering England ; and calculated on being received with acclamation by a majority of the people. In the meantime, the operations of the parliament's army were enfeebled by

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Renewal of
the Scotch
Campaign.
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May 27.

June 9.

the illness of the General, which at length, assumed so serious an aspect, that a message was sent from Westminster, urging his return to England; and empowering him to appoint whom he pleased, to the command of the army during his absence.^a What might have been the consequence of his withdrawing from his post at this critical moment, it is impossible to say; but the fears of parliament were speedily allayed by the receipt of letters from the general, acknowledging their kindness, and informing them “he had been unexpectedly restored to health by the goodness of God.”^b

Cromwell soon entered on active operations against the Scotch army, now amounting to twenty thousand; and commanded by the young prince in person, with David Leslie for his lieutenant-general. The future protector was desirous of bringing his opponents to a speedy battle; but the cautious Leslie shrunk from the encounter, and hoped, by delaying the contest, to dispirit and wear out the English soldiery. Failing in his immediate object, Cromwell dispatched a large body of troops into Fife, with a view of cutting off the supplies of the Scots, and thus brought on a partial engagement, in which the English were victorious. Encouraged by this success, and with a view, probably, of inducing Charles to leave his fastnesses, Cromwell moved his whole army across the Firth, and took possession of Perth on the second of August.

English pres-
byterians cor-
respond with
Charles.

By this movement, the road to England was left open, and Charles determined to follow it. Like most princes, he was misled by false reports, which led him

^a Whitelocke, 466.

^b Ibid., 467.

to imagine he had only to show himself among his English subjects, to gather them in masses around his standard. Nor were his expectations unreasonable. The royalists, though held in check by the vigilance of the government, were yet numerous, and eagerly panted to restore the monarchy and the church; while the presbyterians, though with different views, were equally bent on resisting the present rulers. The latter party, especially, permitted their zeal to outrun their discretion. Large sums of money were raised for the service of the prince; and many meetings were held in London, for the purpose of consulting on the measures that should be adopted. These proceedings could not escape the notice of the government. The parties engaged in them were narrowly watched, and when their scheme was ripe, the leaders of the confederacy May 7. were apprehended. The new government had endured much from the presbyterians. No means had been neglected by which it could hope to mollify their resentment, or to induce even a peaceful submission to the young republic. But all had been in vain; and it was therefore determined to make an example of some of the present conspirators. Forbearance and leniency having failed, the rulers of the Commonwealth resolved to try the influence of a severer policy. Nor is it easy to censure their determination. There must be some limit, even in civil strifes, to the animosities and feuds of parties. The present government had now been established for some time; and the legislature had denounced the penalties of treason, against all who sought to compass the restoration of the Stuarts, or held correspondence with the Scots. These were the known and

CHAP. **XVIII.** recognized laws of the land; and their maintenance was necessary to the life of the Commonwealth.
THE COMMON-WEALTH. To have permitted any subjects of the empire, to engage with impunity in such consultations as had been held by the Presbyterians; would have been a suicidal act on the part of the rulers of the nation, proving them incompetent to their station, and unworthy of public confidence. Still, the measure of their severity, was indicative of the reluctance with which it was resorted to. The greater part of those who had been apprehended, were released on an acknowledgment of their fault, and a promise of future submission; two only were reserved for trial, and one of them was chosen from the ranks of the clergy.

Trial and Execution of Mr. Love. **June 20, 1651.** Mr. Love who had been a zealous and active supporter of the parliament, in its early disputes with the king, deeply resented its subsequent defection from the covenant. His private character was unblameable, and his ministerial diligence exemplary; but having entered with all the fervor of youth into the treasonable consultations of his party, he was arraigned for treason, and after a trial which lasted six days, was capitally convicted.^c Great intercession was made for his life by the Presbyterians, who adopted his case as their own; and in the

^c “I am daily confirmed in my own opinion,” says Sir Henry Vane, referring to Mr. Love’s case, in a letter addressed to Cromwell, “that he and his brethren do still retain their old leaven, and are not ingenuous at all towards us, whatever they pretend; but have dexterity enough to take us on our weak side, thinking thereby to save themselves entire in their principles, and gain time while

this decisive work in Scotland be over; for it is plain unto me that they do not judge us a lawful magistracy, nor esteem anything treason that is acted by them to destroy us, in order to bring the King of Scots as head of the Covenant.”—Milton’s State Papers, 84. The whole history of the Presbyterian party at this period, is confirmatory of Vane’s impression.

language of exaggerated praise, magnified his virtues and martyrdom. The council referred his sentence to Cromwell, but the General, according to the report of Whitelocke, declined to interfere.^d Kennett and Echard, however, two royalist writers, affirm, that he dispatched a letter, consenting to the reprieve of Love ; and recommending that he should be, “upon good security of future behaviour from him and his party, at last pardoned ;” but that the messenger who bore the despatch having fallen into the hands of some Cavaliers, they tore the letter to pieces, in order to insure the execution of a man whom they hated.^e No communication being received from Cromwell, the sentence of the law was permitted to take effect, to the deep chagrin and mortification of the Presbyterians. Love conducted himself on the scaffold with great composure and fearlessness, avowing his attachment to a mixed monarchy, and his fidelity to the covenant. “ I die,” said the honest, though mistaken man, “ with my judgment against the engagement ; I pray God forgive them that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this present government ; I die with my judgment against it ; and lastly, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations that were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I bless God I have not the least trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quiet-

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^d Memorials, 474.^e Echard, 2, 706. Kennett, 3, 185. The report of these historians is countenanced by a remark of Baxter, who informs us,

when speaking of the execution of Love, “that some malicious cavaliers said it was good enough for him, and laughed at it as good news.”—Life, P. 1, p. 67.

CHAP. XVIII. ness of mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to rest.”^f

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Charles enters
England.

In the meantime, the young prince had carried into effect his resolution of entering England. To this rash step he was encouraged, by the reports he received of the dissatisfaction of the people. On the royalists he calculated with absolute certainty, and from the Presbyterians he expected powerful support. But Charles and his advisers, had forgotten the terror of Cromwell’s name; and were, therefore, exposed to bitter disappointment. That name was associated with undaunted prowess and continued victory; and the warmest friends of the prince shrunk from rashly committing themselves to the fearful struggle. They wished, and many of them prayed for his success; but, like prudent men, they waited the course of events, before embarking their lives and fortunes in the royal cause. The slightest advantage on his part would have determined their choice, and brought many of them to his standard; but the genius of Cromwell subdued their courage, and held them in a state of suspense fatal to the enterprise. Having once entered England, everything depended on the celerity of Charles’s movements. He, therefore, pushed on in the desperate hope of reaching London, before aid could be drawn from the army in Scotland. This purpose, however, was soon abandoned. His army, instead of being joined by English recruits, visibly declined;

^f State Trials, 1, 640—728. Neal, 4, 38—46. Baxter, P. 1, p. 67. Clarendon describes his deportment with all the bitterness of an ungenerous and implacable enemy. The noble historian was

as destitute of the higher moral qualities of our nature, as he was regardless of the constitutional rights of the nation. Hist. of Rebel., 6. 556.

and the resolution and courage of the soldiers, dwindled still more rapidly. It was soon apparent that the cause was hopeless; and the rapid movements of Cromwell, who hastened after the young prince, speedily effected its destruction. Immediately that the English general received intelligence of the prince having entered England, he despatched Lambert with a considerable body of horse, to hang on his rear and retard his advance; and having left Monk in Scotland, "he began his own march," says Clarendon, "with the remainder of his army, with a wonderful cheerfulness and assurance to the officers and soldiers, that he should obtain a full victory in England over those who fled from him out of Scotland."^g

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The rashness of the enterprise was now apparent, and nothing but the absolute necessity of the case, induced the fugitive prince to continue his advance. At length, weary and dispirited, he reached Worcester, which he fortified against the approaching army of the parliament. A series of vigorous movements, however, on the part of Cromwell, brought on a general engagement, which terminated in the signal defeat of the royalist forces. Three thousand were slain, and ten thousand made prisoners; and among the latter, were several of the most distinguished of the English and Scotch nobility. "The dimensions of this mercy," Cromwell wrote to the parliament,

Battle of
Worcester.
Sept. 3.

^g Hist. of Rebel. 6, 494. Cromwell's despatch to the parliament, announcing the departure of Charles from Scotland, breathed the same confidence, and encouraged their adoption of vigorous measures. He now calculated on meeting his enemy in an open

field, and knew the temper of his soldiers too well to mistrust their prowess. A protracted struggle might have proved fatal to the Commonwealth, but a speedy battle was synonymous with victory. Whitelocke, 474.

CHAP. XVIII. “are above my thoughts, it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy: surely, if it be not, such an one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of him, who hath done his will for it, before the nation; whose good pleasure is to establish the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work.”^h The escape of Charles from the field of Worcester, and his subsequent concealment for several weeks, are among the romances of real life. He retired to the continent, and became a pensioner of France; where his licentiousness and false morality, trained him for the disgraceful part, he subsequently acted on the English throne.

Dangerous position of Cromwell.

Cromwell was now placed in a perilous position. His military genius had again achieved the salvation of the Republic, and he stood alone, the undisputed master of the fortunes of three kingdoms. It was a proud position he occupied; and had he been faithful to himself, to his own high character, to his unequalled services, to his loud profession; his name would have been handed down among the imperishable few, who have known, in the day of their prosperity, how to temper the elation of their hearts. But the truth of history must be told. Cromwell was unequal to his fortunes; and to the field of Worcester may consequently be traced, his defection from his former faith.ⁱ He speedily repaired to London,

^h Whitelocke, 482, 483. Clarendon, 6, 511.

ⁱ The history of Cromwell’s mind, could it be accurately traced,

would be one of the most instructive narratives on record. At this very time, when the promptings of a selfish ambition were master-

where his pride was inflated, and his ambition fed, by the impolitic measures of the parliament. They observed no bounds in the expression of their gratitude. Four members of the House were deputed to meet him, and his entrance into London was “in great solemnity and triumph.” An applauding multitude crowded the streets, and discharges of cannon welcomed his return. In the midst of these exciting circumstances, Cromwell retained sufficient self-possession to continue his disguise ; he was yet an observer of the passions of others, and put force upon the emotions which were struggling in his own breast. “He carried himself,” says Whitelocke, who was in attendance on the General, “with great affability and seeming humility, and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself, but of the gallantry of the officers and soldiers, and gave (as was due) all the glory of the action unto God.”^j The gratitude of parliament was expressed in the substantial grant of lands, to the yearly amount of four

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ing the nobler propensities of his heart, his letter to the Parliament was couched in the terms of an enlightened and patriotic piety. “I am bold,” he says, “humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done, to a chosen people.” Would that the conduct of the General, had been a commentary and an enforcement of his letter. Whether the two are to be reconciled by the supposition of gross hypocrisy, or by the operation of more mixed,

and therefore, less easily-distinguishable motives, is a problem which continues to perplex the students of English history. I cannot hesitate to avow my own preference of the latter theory.

^j Memorials, 485. Ludlow, who was absent in Ireland at this period, gives a different version of Cromwell’s conduct, and one which severely reflects on his integrity. From his account, with which Mrs. Hutchinson’s agrees, it appears that, in the midst of this public semblance of moderation, the General was taking effectual measures to model the army to his ambitious designs. Memoirs, 1, 365. Hutchinson, 2, 192.

CHAP. thousand pounds, in addition to two thousand
XVIII. five hundred, previously voted: and Hampton Court
 was ordered to be fitted up for his residence.^k

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**Settlement of
Scotland.**

While Cromwell was pursuing the royal army towards Worcester, his lieutenant-general, Monk, completed the subjection of Scotland. Commissioners were early appointed by the English parliament, to proceed thither for the settlement of affairs; and a resolution was shortly afterwards taken, to incorporate the two nations.^l This was strongly opposed to the inclination of the Scotch people. The love of country,—so powerful in the generality of mankind—aided, in the present case, by religious feuds and civil strife, recoiled from a proposition which, threatened to reduce Scotland from an independent nation, to a mere fief of the English crown. The prospective advantages of the measure were, not unnaturally, lost sight of, in the sense of present degradation ; and a formidable opposition was therefore concerted. This was promoted by the influence of the kirk ; whose ministers dreaded the loss of power, and the overthrow of their coercive system. The English parliament were advocates of toleration ; and one of their first measures, it was apprehended, would be the publication of relief to tender consciences. This was enough to insure the opposition

^k Ludlow, 1, 371. Godwin, 3, 275. Several of the subordinate officers were also distinguished by liberal grants ; among whom was Ireton, one of the most upright and clear-minded men of his day. He refused to accept the vote of Parliament, amounting to two thousand annually, remarking, in the true spirit of his character, “That they had many just debts

which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents ; that he had no need of their land, and therefore, would not have it ; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure.”

^l Whitelocke, 487. Parl. Hist., 3, 1377.

of the clergy; who protested against the incorporation, as tending to "draw on a subordination of the church to the state, in the things of Christ." But the fortunes of the parliament were in the ascendant, and its pleasure was enforced, by the presence of a disciplined and victorious army. The commissioners, consequently, succeeded in carrying their point; and were speedily enabled to report to the House that twenty shires and thirty-five boroughs agreed to the union.^m The power of the Kirk was materially diminished, by the incorporation of the two kingdoms. Its officers were prohibited from imposing any oath or covenant without consent of the English parliament; persons excommunicated by its courts, were protected by the civil power; and liberty of worship was guaranteed to all. The clergy exclaimed bitterly against these measures; but a large body of the people, rejoiced in the relief from ecclesiastical oppression, which they afforded.ⁿ The kingdom was greatly benefited by the change. "There was good justice done," says Burnet, "and vice was suppressed and punished;

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^m Whitelocke, 496, 499, 503.

ⁿ Whitelocke, 496. Baillie complains bitterly in several of his letters of the thraldom in which his church was held. In one to Mr. Calamy, dated July 27, 1653, after giving an account of the General Assembly being broken up by Lieutenant-General Cottrell, he says, "Thus, our General Assembly, the glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is by your soldiery crushed and trod under foot, without the least provocation from us, at this time, either in word or deed. For this our hearts are sad, our eyes run

down with water, we sigh to God, against whom we have sinned, and wait for the help of his hand; but from those who oppressed us we deserved no evil. We hear a noise of further orders to discharge all our synods and presbyteries, and all prayer for our king. Many, the most moderate, reckon such orders will make havoc of our Church, and raise against many of the best men we have, a sore persecution; which, God willing, we purpose to endure with all patience and faith, giving just offence to none." 2, 370.

CHAP. XVIII. so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation, a time of great peace and prosperity.”^o

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Ecclesiastical
condition of
Scotland.

The religious interests of the nation were equally advanced: nor is it difficult to account for the fact. A system of forms, rigidly enforced, was supplanted by the more active, and efficacious impulse, of Christian motives. Even the waywardness and fanaticism occasionally evinced by the English soldiers, served to break up the dull monotony, which had been substituted for religious worship. Those extraordinary men, with all their follies and extravagance, have been grossly misunderstood. It may suit the purpose of party scribes and novelists, to defame and caricature them; and there were points in their character, which render it easy to do so. Breaking free from the restraint of authority, they sometimes revelled in the luxuriance of conscious liberty; and poured forth the wildest rhapsodies of an over-heated and alarming fanaticism. Yet as a body, they were distinguished, no less by stern morality and fervid religion, than by the unconquered prowess which rendered them so formidable in the field, “I remember well,” says Burnet, “three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety in them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists; they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never disturbed the public assemblies in the church but once. They came and reproached the preachers for laying things to their charge that were false. I was then present; the debate grew very fierce; at last

^o Hist. of Own Times, 1, 112. Hume, 7, 202. Cook’s Hist. of Church of Scotland, 3, 209.

they drew their swords ; but there was no hurt done ; yet Cromwell displaced the Governor for not punishing this.”^p The measures adopted by parliament, though unfriendly to the authority of the kirk, were conducive to the religious improvement of the people. Those who judged of such measures by the narrow rules of partizanship and faction, were scandalized and alarmed ; but others, of larger and more liberal minds, ingenuously acknowledged the benefit. “They did indeed,” says a Presbyterian historian, “proclaim a sort of toleration to dissenters among Protestants, but permitted the gospel to have its course, and the Presbyterians and Synods to continue in the exercise of their powers ; and all the time of their government, the gospel prospered not a little, but mightily. It is also true, that because the generality of the Scottish ministers were for the king upon any terms, therefore they did not permit the General Assembly to sit (and in this I believe they did no bad office), for both the authority of that meeting was denied by the Protesters, and the Assembly seemed to be more set upon re-establishing themselves, than promoting religion. Errors in some places infected some few ; yet were all these losses inconsiderable in regard of the great success the word preached, had in sanctifying the people of the nation. And *I verily believe that there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration.* Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace, than was in their time. Ministers were powerful, people were

^p Hist. of Own Times, 1, 107.

CHAP. **XVIII.** diligent; and if a man had seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations met in great multitudes; some dozen of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a kind of trance, (so serious were they in spiritual exercises) for three days at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world. At the king's return, every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible, for in most of the country, all the children could read the Scriptures, and were provided with Bibles, either by their parents or their ministers.”^q

Growing ambition of Cromwell.

The battle of Worcester established the fortunes of Cromwell, rather than of the Commonwealth. By breaking the power of the Royalists, and driving the young prince a fugitive from the kingdom, it left him an opportunity of pursuing the ambitious schemes, which were uppermost in his mind. A less sagacious man than Cromwell, must have perceived the inability of parliament to withstand his influence, if vigorously employed. That assembly had already outlived its natural term; had been mangled by military violence; and was regarded throughout the country, as little more than a satellite of the lord general's. Having, to a very great extent, lost the moral power which alone can give weight to the deliberations of a legislative assembly; the parliament at Westminster was constrained to lean on the army, as its only defence against the cavaliers and presbyterians. Cromwell knew this, and determined, either, to make it subservient to his designs;

^q Kirkton's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 54.

or, to remove it out of his way. With this view, he urged forward the Act of Oblivion, which had lain dormant for some time ; and enforced on the House the necessity of coming to a definite resolution, respecting the termination of its own sittings. Both these measures were revived on the 16th Sept., 1651, when he first resumed his seat after the battle of Worcester : and the circumstance is not unimportant as marking his policy. The third of November, 1654, was the period ultimately fixed for the Nov. 18, 1651. dissolution of the house ; and the interval was employed, by Cromwell and his opponents, in the furtherance of their respective views.^r

In the prosecution of his scheme, Cromwell summoned a meeting of several members of parliament, and some of the chief officers of the army, at the speaker's house ; and urged their coming to a speedy settlement of the nation. Among the persons present were Whitelocke and Widdrington, keepers of the seals, Lenthall, the speaker, St. John, the Chief Justice, and Harrison, Fleetwood, Desborough, and Whalley. Cromwell, after his usual manner, commenced the interview in vague and general terms, better adapted to elicit the opinions of others, than to exhibit his own. No man was more able than Cromwell to involve his meaning in obscurity, or to speak directly to the question at issue, according as it suited his policy to be understood or not. His recorded speeches are ample evidence of this. On the present occasion, he was compelled, in order to elicit the sentiments of his associates, partially to disclose his own. The real question to be decided was, between a

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Nov. 18, 1651.

Consultation
with mem-
bers of par-
liament and
officers.

Dec. 10.

^r Whitelocke, 485, 490.

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monarchy and a republic : and the inclination of Cromwell's mind was manifest. " My lord commissioner Whitelocke," said the general, " hath put us upon the right point, and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, whether a republic, or a mixt monarchical government will be best to be settled ; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed." Such a declaration, it must be confessed, was sufficiently astounding ; and ought to have been regarded, as little short of treason to the Commonwealth. If the form of government were yet doubtful, what was the import of those acts of parliament, which had abolished kingship, renounced monarchy, and declared that England should take rank among the nations, as a pure republic ? These points had been decided by the votes of the legislature, and Cromwell was well known to have been a consenting party. His declaration, therefore, was equivalent to a re-opening of the question ; and gives weight to the representation of his opponents, that the field of Worcester had changed his policy, and determined him on ascending the vacant throne. The lawyers, present at this interview, were favorable to monarchy, as most consonant with the laws of the kingdom, and the prepossessions of the people ; while the officers generally avowed a preference for a republic. The former suggested that Charles, or the Duke of York, might be invested with the crown, on terms compatible with the liberties of the nation ; or, in case they were deemed ineligible, that the late king's third son might be raised to the throne. " That," replied Cromwell, strongly averse from such a proposition, yet shrinking from the premature declara-

tion of his hostility, "will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen, and as Christians, that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it, would be very effectual."^s Two things were apparent from this interview,—Cromwell was evidently in favor of a partial restoration,—to say the least—of the old form of government; yet was opposed to the re-establishment of the Stuart family. It is just possible, he may have been honest in his judgment, on both these points. His advocates allege,—and there is some force in the plea,—that the hopelessness of establishing a republic was now apparent; and that it therefore became the wisdom of the general, to abandon an impracticable design. The prevalent feeling of the nation was monarchical. The people clung with the tenacity of a cherished attachment, to their old predilections; and expressed, as audibly as their safety permitted, their aversion from the less ostentatious and more rigid system of the republicans. As to the Stuart family, it is suggested, that their whole history had been a continuous violation of the constitution,—that they were irreclaimably averse from popular liberty, and that their hereditary hostility to it, was now confirmed and embittered by their father's execution. The force of these considerations, as bearing on the personal views of Cromwell, would be considerable,

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^s Whitelocke, 492. "After a long debate," says the Memorialist, "the company parted without coming to any result at all, only Cromwell discovered by

this meeting the inclinations of the persons that spoke, for which he fished, and made use of what he there discerned."

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XVIII. if his subsequent career had been favorable, to the more lenient construction of his conduct. To what degree of weight they are entitled, will presently appear. His object was now steadily pursued, with an energy and skill, similar to that which had achieved his martial triumphs. His great aim was to lower the reputation of parliament with the army, "and though he was convinced," says Ludlow, "that they were hastening with all expedition to put a period to their sitting . . . yet did he industriously publish, that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves."^t Towards the close of 1652, Cromwell's schemes were sufficiently matured to assume a definite form.

Conversation
with White-
locke.

A remarkable conversation took place between him and Whitelocke, in which he threw aside all reserve, and pointed distinctly to the throne, as the object of his ambitious aspirations. Having dilated on the unsettled state of affairs, and charged the parliament with "pride, ambition, and self-seeking," he suddenly inquired, "What if a man should take upon him to be king?" to which Whitelocke replied, that the remedy would be worse than the disease. Cromwell pressed for the grounds of his opinion; and the former answered, that the attempt would entirely change the controversy in which they were engaged; would substitute a personal for a public dispute; would inevitably array against him the republican party; and might seriously endanger the attachment of the army. He therefore advised, that Cromwell should make terms

^t Memoirs, 2, 449.

with Charles by a private treaty, providing on the one hand for the aggrandizement of himself and his friends, and on the other, for the “spiritual and civil liberties” of the nation. Such counsel, addressed to a man like Cromwell, indicated more of the courtier than of the philosopher. It betrayed an entire ignorance of his character, and was necessarily fruitless. Whitelocke was a wary politician, who sought to adjust his sails to the varying winds of heaven. He judged of Cromwell, as of himself; forgetting that there was an infinite distance between them. The one might temporise—the other could not; the one might apostatize from a republican faith, in order to obtain the rewards of a court ;—the other could be tempted to the sin only by the splendid vision of imperial power, impressing its own high and ennobling qualities, on the heart of a great people. Cromwell thanked the commissioner for his advice, and withdrew from the park to White-hall “seeming by his countenance and carriage displeased with what had been said.”^u

In the meantime the parliament was not unob-servant of the proceedings of Cromwell, nor insen-

^u Whitelocke, 523—526. “The Earl of Orrery told me,” says Burnet, “that coming one day to Cromwell during those heats, and telling him he had been in the City all that day, Cromwell asked him what news he had heard there, the other answered that he was told he was in treaty with the king, who was to be restored, and to marry his daughter. Cromwell expressing no indignation at this, Lord Orrery said, in the state to which things were brought, he saw not a better expedient. They might bring him in on what terms

they pleased ; and Cromwell might retain the same authority he then had, with less trouble. Cromwell answered, the king can never forgive his father’s blood. Orrery said, he was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him. Cromwell replied, he is so damnably debauched he would undo us all; and so turned to another discourse without any emotion, which made Orrery conclude he had often thought of that expedient.”—Hist. of Own Times, I, 127.

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sible to the dangers they threatened. The sagacity of Vane and his associates, would have been strangely at fault, if they had not detected the aspiring ambition of their general. The danger was more serious than any which had yet threatened the republic; and proceeded from a quarter against which, it was difficult to guard. Cromwell was the idol of the army. Its republican officers were his dupes, and its most frenzied members the infatuated instruments of his pleasure. He spoke to them of the "good old cause," in language which well befitted their enthusiasm; and arrayed against their employers, those passions which had triumphed over the cavaliers and presbyterians. The superiority of Cromwell, was in nothing more apparent than in his mastery of the army. It required all his subtlety,—all the craft of his impenetrable and master spirit, to mould to his designs, the materials of which it was composed. The slightest indiscretion on his part, the anticipation, but by a moment, of the season for revealing himself, would have ruined his scheme, and consigned his name to infamy. But Cromwell was equal to the exigency of the case, and retained his veil till it might be thrown aside with safety. An attempt was made in parliament to ward off the impending danger, by reducing the army: and the dissolution bill was hastened through its later stages. Cromwell was alarmed by these measures; but, instead of altering his policy, only determined on the employment of more violent measures, than he originally contemplated.

Cromwell dis-
solves the par-
liament.
April 26.

On the 19th of April, 1653, a numerous meeting of officers and of members, was held at his

house ; where a strong opinion was expressed that it was necessary to terminate the sittings of the parliament. The meeting was renewed on the following day, when a report being brought to Cromwell, that the House was about to pass the Act for its own dissolution, he commanded a party of soldiers to proceed thither, and hastened down himself, accompanied by Lambert and a few other officers. On entering the assembly, the voice of Vane broke upon his ears. They had been associates and intimate friends. The one had ruled the councils, and the other the arms, of the republic. They had been alike in their profession ; and for several years had discharged their trust with equal fidelity. But how different their position now ! The patriotism of Vane was pure, enlarged, and noble-hearted. That of Cromwell, had given place to the maddening impulses of a misguided ambition. Vane knew the imminency of the danger which threatened the republic ; and threw the whole force of his passionate soul into the address he was delivering to the House, with a view of inducing it, instantly to pass the bill under consideration. The language of patriotism could scarcely yet fail to awaken a response in the breast of Cromwell, and it may be,—charity would entertain the supposition—that it was owing to some such relic of his former self that “he sat down and heard the debate for some time.” After a few moments he beckoned Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, and intimated his determination to execute his purpose. “The work is very great and dangerous,” said Harrison, “I desire you seriously to consider of

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WEALTH. it." "You say well," replied Cromwell, and resumed his seat, for about a quarter of an hour. It was now, however, necessary to decide; not a moment was to be lost, for the question of dissolution was about to be put. "This," said the general to Harrison, "is the time,—I must do it," and suddenly starting on his feet, he poured forth a torrent of invectives, in language which befitted the lips of an apostate and traitor. Wentworth and Vane remonstrated against the indecent outrage; but Cromwell paced the floor of the House like a madman, exclaiming, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament; I will put an end to your sitting." The usurper then stamped upon the ground, and two files of musqueteers entered. The Speaker was forcibly removed from the chair, and the members were compelled to withdraw. "It is you," said Cromwell, veiling his baseness under the affectation of religion, "that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this work."^v

Character of
the Long
Parliament.

Thus ended the long parliament, by the rude violence and misguided fanaticism, of its own servants. Its character has been variously drawn, according as the passions of men have prompted their pens. Nor is it easy to do justice to the theme. The assembly possessed no uniform character; but changed its complexion, with the progress of events, and the introduction of new members. In the earliest period of its existence, it was calm and digni-

^v Ludlow, 2, 455. Whitelocke, 529. Parl. Hist., 3, 1381—1385.

fied ; an honorable emblem of the national intellect and heart. Subsequently it was torn by factions, and mangled by military violence. Its deliberations were characterised by passion ; and its votes became indicative of the departure of its master-spirits. It lost the amplitude, and range, and generosity of its designs ; and looked to the triumph of a party, rather than to the interests of the Commonwealth. Much of this must be attributed to the false views and intolerant policy of the presbyterians ; nor must the exigency of the times, and the unprecedented nature of the struggle in which they had embarked, be lost sight of, in estimating the character of this memorable assembly. The royalist writers observe no bounds of reason or truth in their treatment of the long parliament ; and their libels have long passed current among Englishmen.^w

^w Echard endeavours to throw contempt on the parliament by representing its dissolution as effected "without any noise or tumult, a question asked, or a vote put, or a bloody nose, or a broken head." "And what is further remarkable," observes this veracious historian, "is, that after the members were with the last infamy and contempt expelled, they never offered to meet in a body, even that of a club, to endeavour at their re-union ; but sneaked and crumbled away to their respective habitations, with a silence that confessed both their guilt and their punishment."—Hist. of England, 2, 745. Dr. Lingard gives currency to this representation : (vol. XI., 173) yet Mrs. Hutchinson's narrative proves it to be false. Colonel Hutchinson was a member of this parliament, and was on his way to London, when the dissolution took place. The news of the

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outrage met him on the road, and the account of his accomplished biographer thus proceeds. "Notwithstanding he went on, and found divers of the members there, resolved to submit to this providence of God, and to wait till he should clear their integrity, and to disprove these people who had taxed them with ambition, by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the army, city and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquished these usurpers. They thought that if they should vex the land by war among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royalists and presbyterians, would have an opportunity to prevail on their dissensions, to the ruin of both : if these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefit of their good government, and not envy them the honorable toil ; if they did otherwise, they should be

CHAP. XVIII. It is therefore due to the men, to whom—notwithstanding their errors and weaknesses—we owe so much, to adduce the more honorable testimony which has been handed down to our day.

THE COMMON WEALTH.
Testimony of Ludlow.

“Certain it is,” says Ludlow, an upright and inflexible republican, “that Cromwell vehemently desired to be rid of this parliament, that had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; established the liberties of the people, reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant; maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success, that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion; recovered our reputation at sea, secured our trade, and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity, that they were a disinterested and impartial parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away amongst themselves so much as their forces spent in three months; no, not so much as they spent in one, from the time that the parliament consisted but of one House, and the government was formed into a Commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that after so many toils and hazards, so much trouble and loss for the public good, they were not unwilling to put an end to

ready to assist and vindicate their oppressed country, when the ungrateful people were made sensi-

ble of their true champions and protectors.”—Memoirs, 2, 206.

their power, and to content themselves with an equal share with others for the whole reward of their labours.”^x

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WEALTH.
Whitelocke.

The judgment of Whitelocke—a more impartial witness than Ludlow,—is scarcely less favorable. After describing the military outrage of Cromwell, he adds, “Thus it pleased God, that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown, and ruined by their servants; and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters. An example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be paralleled in any story, by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change, all worldly affairs are, how apt to fall when we think them highest.”^y

Another testimony must close our evidence on Roger Coke. behalf of the parliament: and it is given by one whose bitter and scornful enmity, adds weight to his favorable judgment. “Thus,” says Roger Coke, “by their own mercenary servants, and not a sword drawn in their defence, fell the haughty and victorious *Rump*, whose mighty acts will scarcely find belief in future generations; and, to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigably industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour, nor by importunity. You scarce ever heard of any revolting from them.—No murmur or complaint of seamen or soldiers employed by them either by sea or land, for want of pay.—Nor do I find they ever pressed either soldiers or seamen, in all their wars; and as

^x Memoirs, 2, 452. Mrs. Hutchinson’s testimony is pre- cisely to the same effect. 2, 199.

^y Memorials, 529.

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they excelled thus in their management of civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised in matters ecclesiastic no such severities, as either the covenanters, or others before them did, upon such as dissented from them. And as the Rump were thus industrious and victorious in war, so were they not negligent in reforming the abuses in the practice of the common laws.”^z

The apathy, with which the dissolution of the Long parliament was regarded by the nation, is generally adduced by royalist writers, in support of the grave charges preferred against it. The fall of this assembly—once so illustrious—was viewed with indifference or exultation. This fact is notorious; and was placed beyond dispute, by the acquiescence of the people in the military outrage, which had effected it.^a Yet a candid observer

^z Detection, 2, 25.

^a Numerous addresses were presented to Cromwell and his officers from different parts of the country, in approbation of their conduct. These addresses are couched in the religious phraseology of the day, and mingle exhortations to fidelity with commendations of past service. They proceeded from honest, but unreflecting men, who were beguiled by the professions of the general, into anticipations never to be realized. The framers of these addresses evidently reposed an unfaltering confidence in the integrity of Cromwell, yet dreaded the possible influence of prosperity on his mind. “We do earnestly beseech the Lord,” says the Durham address, “that you may be kept low in yourselves, and that neither your former glorious victories and successes, nor the eminent employment that God hath now put you upon, may any way take you off from a sin-

gular looking upon God in it, nor any oppositions (which we fear may be many) may discourage you in the prosecution of what is begun, but that you may still go on in the work, as God’s work; and be confident it is honesty God will own, and make honourable in these days.” The Chester address conveys a similar caution in the following passage. “Since by the eminent signalls of the Lord’s continued presence with you, he hath called you forth to act in things so much above yourselves, and in matters of so high importance set you up to be our present governors; we do humbly beg you may be truly sensible of your own human frailties, and those great temptations that may attend your present places and employments; that ye may not be found slothful in the Lord’s work, or advancing any private interests, lest he that hath hitherto owned you, and respects no man’s person, lay

will detect in the state of parties, a sufficient cause for such apathy, without admitting the venality, selfishness, and ambition, charged upon the parliament. Its republican leaders were confessedly a small minority, who had succeeded by the force of their personal character, in re-modelling the government; but had utterly failed to carry along with them the sympathies and confidence of their countrymen. The royalists and presbyterians, the ancient nobility and the clergy of a prostrate church, were alike interested in their dissolution; and could scarcely fail to regard it as the omen of their returning fortunes. With a cordial hatred of Cromwell, these parties exulted in his success; believing that the usurpation of a military chief, would evince the necessity of recurring to the ancient constitution of the land. Such were the undoubted causes, which sealed the doom of the Long parliament, rather than any personal or official delinquencies, on the part of its members. Cromwell would never have dared to interrupt their deliberations, had he not known that the nation was monarchical at heart.^b

you aside with dishonour, as he had done some at this day."—Milton's State Papers, 91, 93.

^b Clement Walker, the most mendacious of historians, is the principal authority adduced by modern writers, in support of the venality and peculation of the Long parliament. He supplies a list of such members as held offices of emolument, the slightest examination of which, serves to disprove his accusation. "Twenty-one persons are put down, merely because they were at one and the same time members of parliament, and colonels in the army. Blake, Dean, and Rainsborough, appear for no reason, but because they were admirals;

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Algernon, Sidney, and six others, because they were the commanders of garrisons; Strickland, because he was an ambassador; and Sir William Armine, because he was a commissioner in Scotland. It was expressly provided by the second self-denying ordinance, that the commissioners of the great seal, and the commissioners of the admiralty, navy, and revenue, should not even be disturbed in their places; yet their names swell the list. It includes some of the most eminent presbyterians, Hollis, Sir John Merrick, and Sir William Waller. It includes Hampden." —Godwin, 3, 477.

CHAPTER XIX.

Policy of Cromwell—His declaration—Meeting of Barebone's parliament—Its character—Ecclesiastical Policy—Votes on Tithes—For abolishing Patronage—In favor of Religious Liberty—Marriage rendered a civil transaction—Dissolution of Parliament—Views of Cromwell—Multiplication of Sects—Rise of the Quakers.

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Policy of
Cromwell.

THE dissolution of the Long parliament transferred all the powers of government to Cromwell and his officers; and it became matter for serious deliberation how those powers should be employed. The General clearly aspired at political supremacy; whether as king, or protector, was to be determined by the force of circumstances, and his success in retaining the fidelity of the army. His measures had probably been accelerated, by the earnestness with which Vane sought to force the act of dissolution through the house. That sagacious statesman—the most aspersed, because most illustrious of the republicans,—having once penetrated the thick folds, within which Cromwell sought to veil his ambition, lost no time in endeavoring to defeat his purpose. The effort, though unsuccessful, was worthy of his genius; and the vigor with which it was pressed, compelled the general to unmask himself, and

appear before the nation as a usurper. Cromwell had resolved on ascending the vacant throne, yet would gladly have compassed his end by less violent means. But the determination of Vane left him no alternative. The general sought to hold things in suspense, that he might gain time for the maturing of his design ;—the statesman felt that not a moment must be lost, if his country were to be saved from military despotism.^a

That Cromwell's schemes were not fully ripe is evident, from his not having taken immediate advantage of the violence he had perpetrated. Instead of seizing with a strong hand, the bauble which fascinated him, he stood in awe of the army, and felt that the nation could not be trusted. Hence he satisfied himself with half measures. Having removed the parliament out of his way, he was still as far as ever from the accomplishment of his design. Something, however, it was necessary to do, and a declaration was accordingly issued, setting forth the grounds of his procedure.

This important document, published in the name of Cromwell and his council of officers, set forth the services of the army, and their fervent desire for an equitable and speedy settlement of the nation. It

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Declaration
of Cromwell
and his offi-
cers.

April 22.

^a The promptitude and energy of Vane, give a greater appearance of truth than is generally admitted, to the statement made by Cromwell to his council of officers, that on going to the House he did not intend to dissolve it. Though prepared to employ force if needful, it was only as a last resort, and he hoped to do without it. It was not till the determination of his opponents to carry their

measure, was placed beyond all doubt, that he threw aside his disguise, and acted the dictator. The impulse of the spirit, to which he is represented as attributing his decision, was one of those strange phantasies, half hypocrisy, and half enthusiasm, by which his masculine judgment was beclouded, from the moment he renounced his political faith. Echard, 2, 745.

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expressed great disapprobation of the bill before the house, at the period of its dissolution; and preferred many charges against its framers. The solicitude of the officers to avoid the employment of force, is broadly stated: and the necessity ultimately laid upon them, is pleaded in justification of their measures. The tone of the declaration, considering the circumstances under which it was issued, is singularly moderate; and its professions are liberal and christianlike. The part acted by Cromwell on this occasion, cannot be mistaken; but the intentions of his associates were more disinterested and upright. They were the dupes of his superior intellect, rather than the conscious partakers of his guilt. Cromwell was aware of this, and shaped his course accordingly.

A new council of state was now appointed, consisting mainly of officers: and frequent consultations were held on the measures to be adopted. By the dissolution of the parliament, the nation had been thrown into a state of unparalleled anarchy; and how to re-settle its affairs was a problem of difficult solution.^b Things could not long remain in their present state; yet the period was not come when the

^b Ludlow relates, that Cromwell, feeling the difficulties of his position, complained to Major Salloway and Mr. Carew, of the great responsibilities that pressed upon him, and expressed his desire to escape the temptations with which his power was fraught. He urged their going immediately to the lord chief justice St. John, Selden, and some other eminent men, with a request that they would draw up a scheme of government which might enable him to divest

himself of power, and thus preserve his integrity. The reply of Major Salloway was one of the noblest rebukes which a patriot could administer to a usurper. "The way, Sir," said the republican officer, "to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was." Memoirs, 2, 461.

ambition of the usurper could be fully gratified. It was therefore determined to call a parliament ; and the mode of summoning it clearly revealed the insecurity of Cromwell's power, and betokened the sterner despotism which shortly followed. Instead of writs being issued to the several counties and boroughs of the kingdom, directing the election of representatives; Cromwell and his military associates, nominated one hundred and thirty-nine for England, six for Wales, six for Ireland, and five for Scotland, to whom a summons was addressed in the name of the General, requiring their attendance at the council-chamber, at Whitehall, on the fourth of July, to take upon themselves the duty of providing for "the peace, safety, and good government, of the Commonwealth."^c By this procedure, Cromwell furnished a triumphant vindication of the Long parliament, from the charges he had so wantonly preferred against it. The dissolution bill so ably advocated by Vane, secured to the members of the present house, a seat in the ensuing parliament ; but to this, the General loudly objected, as indicating a mistrust of the people, and a selfish regard to their own aggrandizement. Yet no sooner had he succeeded in dissolving them, than he took on himself the functions of the whole constituency ; thus manifestly betraying a conviction that the judgment of the nation was adverse to his scheme, and would, if honestly pronounced, prove fatal to his policy. The limited invasion of the rights of electors, contemplated by the parliament, was called for by an apparent necessity : while the entire abnegation of

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June 8.

^c Thurloe's State Papers, 1, 274. Whitelocke, 531, 532.

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Barebone's
Parliament.
July 4.

those rights by Cromwell, proved beyond dispute the hypocrisy of his recent professions, and his fixed determination to retain his ill-gotten power.

About one hundred and twenty of the persons nominated by Cromwell, obeyed his summons ; and are known to history by the title of Barebone's parliament.^d A more anomalous or unconstitutional assembly was never convened. On the day of their meeting, the dictator addressed them in a long speech, artfully adapted to their prejudices. He attempted to criminate the late parliament, and to vindicate himself; alleging the necessity that had been put on him, and his solicitude to divest himself of the power he had acquired. He reminded them of "the series of providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, dispensing wonderful things," affirmed that their "failings and miscarriages" were to be attributed to themselves, and summoned up their gratitude to acknowledge as God's "strange work," their various successes. "In every particular," said Cromwell, "whether in taking off the king, the House of Peers, the pulling down of the bishops, the changing the government; there's not any of these, thus removed and reformed, but there is a point of providence set upon it; so that he that runs may read it." He represented himself as

^d This title was derived from the name of one of the members of the House, and has been a favorite theme of pleasantry with royalist and tory writers. Mr. Godwin, however, on the authority of four contemporary lists of this parliament, preserved in the British Museum, writes, Barbone, and remarks that the baptismal appellation, "Praise God," "is scarcely more fanatical than that

of Deodatus, which is to be found in the records of most of the countries of Europe." The Sussex Jury, whose names are paraded by Hume, Dr. Grey, and other writers, as an instance of the absurd fanaticism of the age, is rejected by the same accurate historian, as utterly undeserving of credit. Hist. of Commonwealth, 3, 524.

having most reluctantly proceeded to the dissolution of the parliament, esteeming it worse than any battle he had ever fought, and that which could not be avoided without proving himself and his associates, “the basest people in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and his people.” “Have a care,” said the speaker, addressing his hearers in the redeeming spirit of his usurpation, “of the whole flock; love the sheep, love the lambs, love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good; and if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life in godliness and honesty, let him be protected.”

“Having thus far served you,” he added, in the name of himself and his officers, “or rather, our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall be ready in our stations, according as the providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the work of God, and to that authority which we shall reckon God hath set over us.”^e On concluding his speech, Cromwell delivered to the assembled members, an instrument bearing his hand and seal, by which, with the consent of the officers, he devolved the supreme government of the nation on them. Their sittings were not to be continued beyond the 3rd of November, 1654, and three months before their dissolution, they were to nominate their successors, whose parliamentary existence was expressly limited to twelve months.

The character of this assembly has been variously drawn. Royalist writers have been in the habit of

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^e Milton's State Papers, 106—114. Whitelocke, 534.

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representing it as a mere rabble of fanatics, destitute of property, and incapable of legislation. "The major part of them," says Clarendon, "consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching In a word, they were a pack of senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet."^f Happily, we possess other witnesses less prejudiced than Clarendon, and better acquainted with the men whom he thus vilifies. Whitelocke describes many of them as "being persons of fortune and knowledge," and Ludlow, deeply as he was incensed against the authority under which they acted, says they were "composed for the most part of honest and well-meaning persons, who having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others."^g

Little need be said respecting the proceedings of this parliament. They were commenced with religious exercises, conducted by the members themselves; a fact which has given occasion for much profane ribaldry. It was perfectly in character for Hume to sneer at the fanaticism of men, who sought the direction of infinite wisdom, in their consultations for the public weal; but it would have been more befitting in others who have retailed his impiety, to imitate the men whose religion they have caricatured. There may have been fa-

^f Hist. of Rebel. 7, 12. Hume, of course, repeats and improves upon the slanders of Clarendon, calling the parliament, "the very dregs of the fanatics." Hist. of England, 7, 221. The list of

members printed in the Parliamentary History, vol. iii. 1407, is a sufficient refutation of such calumnies.

^g Memorials, 534. Ludlow, 2, 463.

naticism, there may have been hypocrisy among the members of this convention; but no impartial man will doubt, that our national interests would be greatly advantaged were a portion of the religious spirit displayed in their proceedings, substituted for the indecorous mirth, and ill-suppressed profanity, too frequently evinced by modern legislators.

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Having devoted what they deemed a befitting time Ecclesiastical policy. to the exercises of religion, the members addressed themselves vigorously to the business of the nation. Various committees were appointed; and many of the reforms suggested, would do honor to the calmer judgment, and more enlarged experience, of the present day. The unsparing vigor, however, with which their projected improvements were urged, do more credit to their honesty than to their foresight. It aroused the hostility of various classes, and combined them in opposition. The clergy were particularly alarmed at the strong feeling which prevailed in the House against the tithe system; and by other ecclesiastical encroachments that were contemplated. Hitherto, the tithes had been protected by the legislature; but the feeling of the present Convention was obviously averse from them, and there was reason to believe that an Act for their suppression would speedily be passed.

So early as the 15th of July, the taking away of Votes respecting tithes. tithes was debated, and their continuance till the following November being proposed, it was resolved that the question should not be put.^b On the 22nd of the same month, it was referred to a committee to consider of the repeal of such laws as

^b Whitelocke, 535.

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Sept. 2.

"hinder the progress of the gospel," and several petitions were received about the same time, some asking for the abolition of tithes, and others for their maintenance. One of the latter class, was from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London ; and prayed that religious truths might be preserved in purity, and that learned, godly, and blameless ministers might be sent forth to preach them ; that their "settled maintenance by law, may be confirmed," and that the universities might be countenanced and duly aided. The House thanked the petitioners "for their good affections," and desired them to continue their care of the peace of the city.ⁱ

The committee on tithes made their report in December, declaring it to be their opinion, that incumbents and impropriators had a legal property in them, and that the same ought to be continued. This gave rise to a protracted debate, which terminated in a rejection, by the small majority of fifty-six to fifty-four, of the first clause of the report.^j

*Vote for abol-
ishing presen-
tations and
advowsons.*

Another ecclesiastical change contemplated by this assembly, respected the rights of patrons. These were zealously impugned, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for their extinction.^k The practical

ⁱ Whitelocke, 545.

^j Ibid. 551. Godwin, 3, 576. Baxter has fallen into an error respecting the votes of this parliament, by confounding the ministry, with tithes ; and by speaking of the abolition of the latter, as equivalent to an extinction of the former. "It was put to the vote," he says, "whether all the parish ministers of England should at once be put down or no ; and it was but accidentally carried in

the negative by two voices ; and it was taken for granted that the tithes and universities, would at the next opportunity be voted down." Life of Baxter, P. 1, p. 70. In this passage, Baxter writes as a controversialist, rather than as a historian, and attributes to the design of parliament, all the consequences which he anticipated from their measure

^k Whitelocke, 550.

absurdities involved in the system of patronage, and the lamentable consequences flowing from it, have been admitted by men of all parties. It is a monstrous anomaly, that the right of imparting religious instruction to a people, should be made a marketable article; and, as such, be transferred from hand to hand, on the ordinary principles of commercial dealings. Were the naked deformity of such a system presented to public view, it could not fail to awaken one strong feeling of disgust and indignation. But ecclesiastical subtlety has contrived to veil it under a pretended regard to order and decency: and it continues, therefore, to the present day, to inflict its unnumbered evils on the land. It is no small honor to the men whom Cromwell summoned to meet at Whitehall, that they duly appreciated this system, and determined on its extinction. Their speedy dissolution prevented the accomplishment of their design, but history perpetuates the record of their enlightened scheme.

The question of religious liberty also engaged the early and devoted attention of parliament. This was to be expected from the principles of its members, who were drawn mostly from the classes which, had hitherto been discountenanced and oppressed by the ruling factions. Petitions were received from several congregational churches, praying for protection in the performance of their religious services; upon which it was voted that a declaration should be issued, granting full liberty to all that fear God, and discountenancing at the same time, "blasphemies, damnable heresies, and licentious practices." In conformity with this resolution, an order was published by the Council, forbidding any interrup-

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*Vote in favor
of religious
liberty.*

Oct. 10.

Nov. 17.

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tion of peaceable religious assemblies, and directing all magistrates to proceed against such, as disobeyed the same.¹ The tolerant principles of Christianity were thus slowly, yet effectually, worked out. They had to encounter a thousand prejudices,—to grapple with the selfishness and love of domination inherent in the human mind, before they were allowed to take rank among the admitted conclusions of practical wisdom. Considerable progress, however, was made by the despised men of the Commonwealth ; and the service thus rendered to society will not be lost sight of, by an impartial judge of their proceedings.

Marriage rendered a civil transaction.

AUG. 24.

Another measure must be noticed, before closing the history of this parliament. The celebration of marriage had hitherto been vested in the clergy, in accordance with the system of ecclesiastical rule that had prevailed for ages. But it was now determined to wrest it from them, and to place it in the hands of civil officers. An act was accordingly passed, requiring parties wishing to be married, to deliver to the registrar of their parish a notice of their intention, which was to be published in the church, on three successive Lord's days ; or, if the parties themselves required it, in the market-place, on three successive market days. A certificate of such publication, together with any exceptions made to the marriage, was to be delivered to the justice of peace, before whom the contract was to take place. No other form of marriage, it was expressly declared, should be held legal, than that which this law prescribed.^m Against the principle of this measure,

¹ Whitelocke, 547, 549. Kennett, 3, 192.

^m Scobell, P. 2, p. 236. This statute was confirmed in 1656,

with the exception of the clause which prohibited any other form of marriage than that prescribed by the Act. Ib. 394.

various objections have been urged ; yet it is difficult to see how any consistent Dissenter can sympathize with, or adopt them. Marriage is clearly a civil contract, pertaining to man as such, and not as the professor or advocate of any religious creed. It is equally valid, whatever be the views of the parties who form it ; and as such, is enforced with impartial rigor on all classes of society. It is justly open to the profane as well as the pious—a fact impossible to be reconciled with the supposition of its religious character. In severing, therefore, the civil contract from the religious services with which individuals might think proper to associate it; the parliament acted consistently with its own principles, and in harmony with the soundest policy. It was equally their duty as legislators to enforce the former, and to leave the latter to the voluntary arrangements of the parties concerned.

The end for which this assembly had been convened, being now accomplished, Cromwell was desirous of its dissolution : nor was this a matter of difficult attainment. Its ill-timed zeal had armed both the lawyers and the clergy against it ; and thus afforded the General a pretext for interposing. His sagacity had foreseen this result, and was prepared to turn it to his own advantage. From the first, he had obviously regarded the convention only as a temporary expedient, to amuse the people, and veil his own ambition. He, therefore, permitted it to proceed so far as was compatible with his policy ; but, when he saw that the public were ripe for its dissolution, he determined to take a step onward in his ambitious career. The same misrepresentations were propagated by the General and his adherents,

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Parliament.
Dec. 12, 1653.

CHAP. XIX. as in the case of the long parliament, and with similar success.ⁿ His influence among the members themselves, was considerable ; and it was resolved by his junto to meet early on the 12th December, in the hope of carrying a vote for the dissolution of the House, before the more independent and patriotic members had assembled. A resolution to that effect, was accordingly moved by Colonel Sydenham ; but the opposition evinced, proving more formidable than had been anticipated, the speaker, with such others as were in the interest of Cromwell, withdrew, without putting the question to the vote ; and repairing to Whitehall, resigned into his hands the powers with which they had been entrusted. The members who remained were subsequently ejected by some of Cromwell's soldiers^o.

Views of
Cromwell.

The secret agents and real design of this movement were speedily disclosed. Cromwell was again

ⁿ Dr. Lingard, who treats the religious views and language of this parliament with marked contempt, gives the following summary of its proceedings ;—an honorable testimony, as coming from the lips of an unfriendly witness. “In their proceedings, there was much to which no one who had embarked with them in the same cause, could reasonably object. They established a system of the most rigid economy ; the regulations of the excise were revised ; the constitution of the treasury was simplified and improved ; unnecessary offices were totally abolished ; and the salaries of the others considerably reduced ; the public accounts were subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny ; and new facilities were given to the sale of the lands now considered as national property. But the fanaticism of their

language, and the extravagance of their notions, exposed them to ridicule ; their zeal for reform, by interfering with the interests of several different bodies at the same time, multiplied their enemies ; and before the dissolution of the house, they had earned, justly or unjustly, the hatred of the army, of the lawyers, of the gentry, and of the clergy.” Hist. of Eng., xi. 192.

^o Parl. Hist., 3, 1414. Ludlow, 2, 472. Mr. Godwin, whose accuracy in such matters seldom fails him, says there were about seventy members present during the debate, and that thirty-four or thirty-five remained after the secession of the Speaker. His withdrawal, however, by reducing the numbers below a quorum, immediately put an end to business, Hist. of Common., 3. 588.

in possession of supreme power, after having, apparently, tried the expedient of devolving its functions on others. He himself, pleaded, and others pleaded for him, that he shrunk from the authority with which he was re-invested; that he had honestly sought to consolidate an assembly of grave and virtuous senators; and that it was only from the necessity of the case, and in the hope of saving his country from the distraction and misery of another civil war, that he consented to receive the deposit of a nation's liberties. These representations prevailed with some, but there were others—men of clear minds and untainted hearts--whose worst suspicions of his fidelity were confirmed by this event. The Commonwealth had ceased practically from the dissolution of the long parliament. Its name had been retained, but its authority was gone; and it was now destined to give place to the protectorate of Cromwell, the early professions of which were ill-sustained by the military despotism which followed.

Ecclesiastical affairs were in an equally unsettled state. Men's minds were thrown loose from the faith and order of ages. The overthrow of episcopal authority, was hailed as a prelude to the reign of the saints; and the dark tragedy that followed, with the commotions by which it was attended, were viewed but as the thunderings and the lightnings, by which the approaching King of kings prepared the nations for his appearance. The multiplicity of sects at this period has been matter of scornful triumph to the royalists. Forgetful of the past, and incapable of estimating the virtues concealed under a grotesque and uncanonical form, they have involved in one indiscriminate censure, the various sects which dissented from

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Multiplicity
of religious
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their polity. That there was much of extravagance and folly couched under the religious profession of these times, cannot be denied. Fanaticism was rife, and hypocrisy followed in its train. The apathy and brutishness of a former age, gave place to the bewilderment and false stimulus of enthusiasm. The national mind, probed by the maddening impulses of the civil war, sported in all the fantastic moods of an illiterate piety. In this there was nothing more than had always appeared in times of great excitement; and the ferment would soon have ceased, and the tempest of passion have sunk into a calm, had a more settled form of civil polity been maintained. Many honest minds were too weak, and others were too ill-informed, to bear the excitement to which they were subjected. It had been so at the time of the Reformation ; and Protestant writers would do well, to remember the use which papal advocates have made, of the divisions which followed that memorable event. Nor must it be forgotten, that there has been much exaggeration on this point. The catalogue of minor sects supplied by Edwards, Vicars, Walker, Featley, and Pagitt, are among the most ridiculous productions of party zeal. They are perfectly absurd, and can only serve to amuse, as exhibitions of human folly and weakness. The number is swelled by endless subdivisions, and made to bear an imposing aspect, which vanishes before the slightest scrutiny.^p The follies

^p “Pagitt describes in his ‘Heresiography,’ between forty and fifty different sects ; but the whole of these may be reduced to a very few, as he makes many foolish distinctions. For instance, he has *Anabaptists*, and *Plunged Anabaptists*; *Separatists* and

Semi-Separatists. He has *Brownists*, *Barrowists*, *Ainsworthians*, *Robinsonians*, who were all men of one party. He has *Familists*, *Castalian Familists*, *Familists of the Mountains*, and *Familists of the Vallerys !*” Orme’s Baxter, 96.

of individuals are made the badges of sects; and the ephemeral growth of the passing hour, is represented as the natural fruit, and permanent development, of the principles then at work. A wider and more sagacious observation assures us, that these extravagances were but the indications of a transitory state,—the proofs of human infirmity exulting in its recent deliverance from civil tyranny and priestly rule. The rebound of the human mind on such occasions, is usually proportioned to its previous depression ; and the enlightened friend of religion will temper his condemnation accordingly.

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Richard Baxter was no friend to the minor sects. Their erratic movements were repugnant to his notions of ecclesiastical order; while the bitterness with which they inveighed against the regular clergy, offended his piety and stimulated his resentment. Trained amid the decorum and gravity of the Presbyterian church, the honest puritan was shocked at the grotesque forms in which religion was sometimes exhibited ; and mourned over the multiplication of sects, as fatal to his darling and long-cherished scheme of general concord. Yet with all the alarm he felt, and the exaggerated view he took of the danger accruing to religion, his representation falls far below the statements of others. He specifies five sects, the *Vanists*, the *Seekers*, the *Ranters*, the *Quakers*, and the *Behmenists*, as having sprung up during the period of the Rump parliament ; but of these, the Quakers only have any pretensions to be regarded as a distinct body.⁹

⁹ Life, P. 1, p. 74. Baxter's account of these sects must be received with caution. He does

great injustice to Sir Henry Vane, and frequently merges the historian in the controversialist.

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Quakers.

Of the rise and early history of the Quakers, the limits of the present work permit only a rapid sketch; and that, merely in subordination to the general view of ecclesiastical affairs contemplated. George Fox was the founder of the body, rather than the originator of the doctrines which distinguished it. Like Cromwell, though in a different way, he was the offspring of the civil war. Each took his complexion from the aspect of his times; the one devoting himself to the pursuits of war, and the conduct of government,—the other to the diffusion of principles which were supposed to approximate more nearly than any existing creed, to the spirituality of the Christian system. Both the Protector and the father of Quakerism found ready to their hand, the materials with which they worked. The one rose to power on the combined operation of political and religious influences; the other succeeded in his vocation, by steadily adhering, through evil report and through good report, to what he deemed the disenthralment of the church, and the vindication of her purity. They were alike enthusiasts in their respective departments; though the masculine intellect of the former admitted an infusion of worldly policy, from which the ardent faith of the latter was wholly exempt.

Early history
of George Fox.

Fox was born of humble parentage at Drayton, in Leicestershire, in July, 1624. From a child, his disposition was remarkably sedate and observant, and there were peculiarities in his demeanor, which predicted his future course. He shrunk from

To attribute to an opponent all the consequences which appear to us fairly deducible from his views, however plausible, is both

uncandid and unjust. Baxter frequently does this, and the subtlety of his genius serves to increase the wrong thus inflicted.

the ordinary sports of his age, spent much of his time in meditation, and went through a series of mental conflicts of the most agonizing character. The first excitement of the civil war now pervaded the kingdom. All ages, and grades of society, felt it. It was a new element of life, which reached to the extremities of the empire, and generated in the peasant, as well as the noble, a fresh class of emotions. Fox's temperament rendered him keenly susceptible of its influence. He belonged to just that class of minds, which was fitted to realize its full force ; and in which it was sure to bring forth an abundant harvest. Dissatisfied with all around him,—bitterly moved by the degeneracy of his times —a solitary being, meditating on a perfection unattained, but deeply sighed after—the rumor of coming change, of liberty of thought and purity of religious worship, struck a responsive chord in his breast, of more than ordinary force. While tending the flocks of his master, his melancholy spirit would naturally feed on the enthusiasm of his times, and gather hope from despair. Moved by strong internal conflicts, with an indefinite purpose, and a vague expectation of relief, Fox, on attaining his nineteenth year, left his friends in Leicestershire, and broke off, according to his own report, “all familiarity or fellowship, with old or young.” He was agonized by the apprehension of spiritual danger, and passed from place to place, seeking rest, but finding none. “I went,” he says, “to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.” His case clearly belonged to that profoundly

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mysterious class of distempers, which have their origin in the complex nature of man,—which, being partly spiritual, and partly physical, are not to be successfully treated by appliances suited exclusively to either. A melancholy temperament, early indulged, and now acted on by the stirring excitements of his day, impaired his health, and rendered him, for a time, inaccessible to the consolations of religion. His own account of what took place at Coventry, towards the close of 1645, places the matter beyond reasonable doubt. After relating the failure of his visit to Dr. Cradock, he says, “I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head, my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, griefs, and troubles, which were so great upon me, that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord’s name blasphemed.”^s This enthusiastic temperament, deeply tinged with religious melancholy, drove him from the society of others. He “fasted much, and walked abroad in solitary places;” his only companion being the bible, and the one great purpose of his soul, the attainment of spiritual peace. He saw visions, and dreamed dreams, and heard voices speaking to him the messages of his Lord. This state of things continued for some time, but the violence of the tempest was gradually assuaged,

^s Journal, 88.

and light, and peace, and joy, at length dawned upon his troubled breast. "My sorrows and troubles," he records, "began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. I saw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words."^t Thus severe were the conflicts through which this extraordinary man passed, as preparatory to his mission; and the result was conspicuous throughout his life. Impelled by what he deemed a divine impulse, he travelled from town to town, preaching the doctrine of the "inward light;" and exhorting men to embrace a more spiritual and simple form of faith.

His tenets are now known to be inoffensive; and men consequently wonder at the treatment he experienced. In their first utterance, however, they alarmed the timid, and shocked the pious; and were supposed even to threaten the stability of civil institutions. The forms of ordinary courtesy were discarded, oaths were held to be unlawful, and a peculiar garb was assumed. A resort to arms even in self-defence was forbidden, and a form of marriage peculiar to themselves, was practised by his followers. Such opinions and practices were, not unnaturally, regarded with apprehension on their first appearance; while the refusal of tithes, the rejection of a stated ministry, and the non-observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper, were viewed with suspicion and dread by the religionists of the day.

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tenets^t Journal, 1100.

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These circumstances must be borne in mind, in estimating the conduct observed towards Fox and the early Quakers. With all the allowance for which candor can plead, that conduct must be pronounced both unchristian and cruel; but without it, no terms will be sufficiently strong to express its barbarity.

Unjustifiable
mode of his
procedure.

The manner in which Fox and his coadjutors attempted to fulfil their mission, was eminently adapted to strengthen hostility. There was an asperity and violence, and an utter disregard of the proprieties of time and place, in their proceedings, which could not fail to irritate and incense; and which must be admitted to extenuate, though it cannot justify, their brutal treatment. “The steeple house,” and the “priest,” were the objects of Fox’s special aversion. The sight of the former acted on his mind like the idolatry of Athens on the apostle Paul; and he broke in upon the quietude of religious services, in order to disabuse, as he thought, an enthralled and superstitious people. An instance of this occurred at Nottingham in 1649, and may serve as an example. Approaching the town one Lord’s day, he “espied the great steeple house:” upon which he records, “the Lord said unto me, ‘Thou must go cry against yonder great idol and against the worshippers therein.’” Fox was obedient to the injunction, and on entering the place, the people appeared to his excited mind, “like fallow ground,” in which he was appointed to sow the seed of righteousness. The minister happened to be preaching on the authority of the Scriptures, “when,” says Fox, “the Lord’s power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me that I could

not hold, but was made to cry out, “Oh no, it is not the Scriptures:” and he then proceeded to argue that the Holy Spirit was the only competent judge of religious doctrines. The intruder, as a natural consequence, was apprehended, and taken before the magistrates; by whom he was committed to prison, where he was detained for some time, and then released without trial.^u Proceeding immediately to a neighbouring town, he was moved in a similar manner to interrupt the services of a religious assembly, when a tumult occurred, deeply disgraceful to the parties concerned. “The people,” says Fox, “fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, bibles, and sticks.” He was then placed in the stocks for some hours, and being afterwardstaken before the magistrates, was permitted to go at large. So incensed, however, were the people against him, that they stoned him out of the town, so that he was “scarce able to go, or well to stand, by reason of the ill-usage he received.”^v At Derby, he was committed to the House of Correction for six months, under the absurd charge of “uttering and broaching diverse blasphemous opinions.” At the expiration of this period, a commission in the army was offered him, which he indignantly declined; telling the commissioners, in reply to their expressions of good will, that “if that were their love and kindness, he trampled it under his feet.” Incensed at what they deemed his obstinacy, they ordered him to the common gaol, where he was confined for several

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WEALTH.^u Journal, 1, 117.^v Ibid., 120.

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months, in gross violation of his rights as an English subject.^w These scenes were of frequent occurrence in the subsequent years of his life. The violence with which he was treated, only served, however, to confirm his resolution; while the astonishing success of his labors was regarded as the seal of Divine approval. The simplicity of his object was never lost sight of; he turned neither to the right hand nor to the left, but labored unceasingly, and with all his soul, in the vocation on which he had entered. Never did religious reformer more steadily adhere to the one great purpose of his life. He went steadily forward, undeterred by dangers, and spurning every suggestion of a compromising policy.

Appearance
before Crom-
well.

In 1654, he was apprehended at Whetstone, near Leicester, by Colonel Hacker, who, at once offered him his liberty if he would discontinue his itinerant labors. Fox refused to do this, and was consequently sent up to London, where he had several interviews with Cromwell. The meeting of two such men, was a scene which a philosopher might profitably have studied. The one was virtually king, the other an abhorred and persecuted sectary; yet Fox met the Protector with the erect bearing and fearless carriage of an honest and courageous man. "Peace be in this house," was his salutation on entering Whitehall. In the conversation which followed, Fox vindicated himself and his doctrines; and reflected with his accustomed severity on the clergy. His sincerity and earnestness deeply affected Cromwell. The vision of former days

^w Journal, I, pp. 124, 142.

probably re-appeared ; the protector called to mind what he had been, and what he had felt, and would, for the moment, have changed places with the man before him. “ He catched me by the hand,” says Fox, “ and with many tears in his eyes, said, ‘Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other.’” It is needless to add that Fox was instantly liberated.^x

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As the number of his adherents multiplied, they assumed a more consistent and settled form. Their movements became less erratic, and the extravagances of which they were at first guilty gradually disappeared. The more estimable features by which they are now known, shone out to public view; while the asperity and violence that had grown out of the spirit of the times, were discarded as unseemly and pernicious incrustations. Meetings were formed in several parts of the country, during the years 1653 and 1654, and the first rudiments of the discipline now maintained by the Society, were gradually elicited. “ It cannot be said,” remarks one of the official publications of the society, “ that any system of discipline formed a part of the original compact of the Society. There was not indeed, to human appearance, anything systematic in its formation. It was an association of persons who were earnestly seeking, yea, panting after the saving knowledge of Divine truth. They were men of prayer, and diligent searchers of the Holy Scriptures ; unable to find true rest in the various opinions and systems which in that day divided

^x Journal, 1, 265.

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the Christian world.”^y Such was the commencement of a religious body, the subsequent proceedings of which, have been distinguished by more than ordinary gravity and decorum. No candid mind can review its history, without admiring the consistency and moral heroism of its members. Their bitterest foes have been compelled to do homage to their virtues ; and the needy and the oppressed in every quarter of the globe, have found in them their most zealous and efficient friends.

^y Rules of Discipline, Intro. p. xvi.

THE PROTECTORATE.

CHAPTER XX.

*Cromwell installed Protector—Instrument of Government—The Sec-
taries discountenanced by Cromwell—The tendency of his policy to
unite Religious Bodies—Efforts of Baxter—Commissioners for the
Examination of Candidates for the Ministry—Charges against them
—Testimony of Baxter—Commissioners for ejecting scandalous
Ministers—Grounds of their appointment—Owen's interposition on
behalf of Dr. Pococke—Case of Fuller—Number of persons ejected
—General result of the labors of the Triers—Ecclesiastical proceed-
ings in Wales.*

THE installation of Cromwell as Lord Protector, took place on the fourth day after the dissolution of parliament. About three o'clock in the afternoon, he proceeded from Whitehall to the Chancery Court in Westminster Abbey, "dressed in a black velvet suit and cloak." The commissioners of the Great Seal, and the judges and barons, together with the council and the civic authorities of London, attended on the occasion. The dictator stood beside the chair of state uncovered ; while Major-General Lambert, in the name of the army and of the three nations, desired his acceptance of the Protectorship. A form of government agreed on by the officers was then read, and an oath, binding the General not "to violate or infringe the matters and things contained

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Cromwell in-
stalled Pro-
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ment.

therein," having been subscribed, Lambert presented him with the sword of state, and the civil authorities placed in his hands the insignia of their several offices. At the conclusion of this solemn farce, in which a nation's hopes were extinguished, and the professions of years belied, Cromwell returned to Whitehall, to listen to an exhortation from Mr. Lockier, one of his chaplains.^a

The instrument of government adopted on this occasion, declared that the supreme legislative authority should reside in one person, and in the people assembled in parliament; and that parliament should be convened triennially, and should consist of 400 members for England and Wales, and thirty each for Scotland and Ireland. The third of September, 1654, was the day specified for the first of these assemblies. The articles respecting religion were framed in the best spirit of Cromwell's tolerant policy, and on the whole, were honorably executed. They were couched in the following language:—

"That the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that as soon as may be, a provision less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, heresy, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine; and that until such provision be made, the present maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.

^a Whitelocke, 552. Parl. Hist., 3, 1416—1428.

That to the public profession held forth, none shall be compelled by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavour be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation.

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“ That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion ; so as they abuse not this liberty, to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts ; provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness.” All previous statutes, contrary to the liberty thus vouchsafed, were declared to be null and void.^b

Cromwell was now the acknowledged head of the empire. He received numerous addresses from “ divers considerable places,” congratulating him on his position, and promising obedience to his government ; the ministers of foreign states recognized his authority, and sought his friendship ; and the army concurred in an address, pledging themselves to be faithful to his service. So successfully had the military usurper played his game, that the nation seemed to acquiesce in his authority, as the only means of avoiding anarchy on the one hand, and the tyranny of the Stuarts on the other. Yet his whole system was dependent on his personal qualities. It possessed no one element of stability, and had utterly failed to strike its roots deeply into

^b Whitelocke, 557.

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the affections and confidence of the people. He had succeeded by consummate skill, in playing one party off against another, and their mutual distrust and embittered enmities, alone prevented their confederating against him. “In the ascent of this bold usurper to greatness,” remarks the severest of modern historians, “he had successively employed and thrown away several of the powerful factions who distracted the nation. He had encouraged the levellers and persecuted them; he had flattered the long parliament, and betrayed it; he had made use of the sectaries to crush the Commonwealth; he had spurned the sectaries in his last advance to power. These, with the royalists and the Presbyterians, forming in effect, the whole people, though too disunited for such a coalition as must have overthrown him, were the perpetual, irreconcileable enemies of his administration.”^c Against these enemies Cromwell arrayed the terror of his name, and the military forces at his disposal. He commanded, with a few honorable exceptions, the entire devotion of the army. Equally lauded by the soldier and the fanatic; alike capable of leading the one to victory, and of taking part in the prolonged religious exercises of the other; he retained the fidelity of the former, when it became his interest to discountenance the zeal, and to check the extravagance of the latter. Like most men who have risen to power by the force of their own genius, he united qualities apparently the most opposite; the broad humor and easy familiarity that please the vulgar, with the sagacity which penetrates the

^c Hallam, 2, 333.

heart, and the dignity which commands the homage, of men of a higher grade. When it suited his policy, he could adopt the mystical language of his followers, and identify himself and his cause with their most visionary expectations. But the next hour saw him surrounded with grave and sagacious statesmen; presiding over their consultations, as the master spirit whose presence constituted their wisdom and security. Amid the endless diversities of human character, it is but rarely that such a combination is formed, as was seen in the person of Cromwell.

Having now obtained the more substantial objects of his ambition, it was Cromwell's policy to restrain the license which had recently prevailed; and to re-induce a state of tranquillity and order. From having been the apostle of agitation, he became the preacher of concord and submission. This change was perfectly natural, and is satisfactorily accounted for by his altered position. The excitement which facilitated his advance to power, would have been fatal to the stability of his empire. The sectaries constituted his most formidable opponents. He had hitherto indulged their fervor, and had risen on the strength of their enthusiasm; but the boldness with which they now reflected on his policy, and impugned his motives, determined him to transfer his influence to the more moderate and orderly religionists of the day.^a The nominal

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The sectaries
discountenanc-
ed by
Cromwell.

^a "When Cromwell was made Lord Protector," says Baxter, "he had the policy not to detect and exasperate the ministers, and others that consented not to his government (having seen what a stir the engagement had before

made,) but he let men live quietly, without putting any oaths of fidelity upon them; except his parliaments; for those must not enter the House till they had sworn fidelity to him. The sectarian party, in his army and

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veral religi-
ous bodies.*

ascendancy of the Presbyterians, was therefore continued, while their weight was balanced, by the favor shown to many of the Independents.

One benefit which resulted from the sagacious policy of the protector, was a closer union and more cordial co-operation, among the moderate members of different religious bodies. By depriving the presbyterians of that coercive power which they had shown such a disposition to abuse, he placed them on an equality with others, and thus opened the way for a freer interchange of kind offices than had previously been known. They felt themselves to be dependent on the weight of their character, and the usefulness of their labors, and began, in consequence, to cultivate the fellowship of their brethren. In several counties the clergy united for purposes of mutual instruction; and their intercourse fostered a spirit of charity, and mutual good will, eminently favorable to religion.

*Efforts of
Baxter.*

Richard Baxter labored with all his characteristic zeal to promote this enlarged fellowship: and his efforts were crowned with a good measure of success. He obtained a meeting of ministers at Worcester, at whose request he drew up some articles as the basis of an association between the more moderate presbyterians, independents, and episcopalians. This was just the occupation in which Baxter delighted;

elsewhere he chiefly trusted to, and pleased, till by the people's submission and quietness, he thought himself well settled; and then he began to undermine them, and by degrees, to work them out; and though he had so often spoken for the Anabaptists, now he findeth them so

heady, and so much against any settled government, and so set upon the promoting of their way and party, that he doth not only begin to blame their unruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in the people's favour by suppressing them."—Life, 74.

though the subtlety of his genius, and his love of metaphysical distinctions, frequently constituted the greatest obstacle to his success. He cheerfully undertook the task devolved on him by his brethren, and entered into an extensive correspondence with divines of different parties respecting it. His hopes, as was usually the case with him, were more sanguine than a calm view of the state of parties justified. They partook of the ultraism which commonly distinguishes the aspirations of men, who are destined to confer great benefits on their fellows. Yet they were not altogether utopian. "It was only," he says, "the moderate ancient episcopal party which I hoped for agreement with; it being impossible for the presbyterian and independent party to associate with them that take them and their churches, and all the reformed ministers and churches that have not episcopal ordination, for null."^e The association ultimately formed, was a beautiful, though short-lived, exemplification of the catholic spirit of the gospel. It harmonized individual liberty with general fellowship, and was intended to foster the charities of the heart, rather than to produce a oneness of opinions. "We do promise and engage to one another," say the Wiltshire ministers, "according to our duty in all humility, tenderness, and brotherly love. Yet faithfully to admonish one another of any miscarriage or neglect, which we shall know, or be duly informed of And we shall all of us likewise seriously promise, humbly and thankfully to accept of such admonition from any brother, as a fruit of Christ-

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^e Life, Part II., p. 149.

CHAP. ^{XX.} ian love and fidelity, and without anger, clamor, or recrimination, either to clear ourselves to the brother that admonisheth us, being free from the crime objected, or else endeavor reformation, in what we have offended We fully resolve, not to ferment any breaches amongst brethren, but to study to the utmost of our power, that all who accord in the fundamentals of gospel truth, and holiness, may be brought to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.” These were sentiments worthy of Christian pastors ;—an anticipation the more honorable, because so rare, of that perfected fellowship “when Ephraim shall no longer envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim.” Associations on the model devised by Baxter, were formed in several counties, and an interchange of friendly correspondence took place, which enlarged the sympathies, and rendered more catholic the principles, of all. “I must confess,” says Baxter, referring to the meetings of the Worcestershire brethren, “this was the comfortablest time of all my life, through the great delight I had in the company of that society of honest, sincere, laborious, humble ministers of Christ. Every week, on the lecture day, I had the pleasant company of many of them at my house, and every month, at our appointed meeting, I had the company of more. I so well know their self-denial, impartiality, peaceableness, and exemplary

¹ Baxter, Part II., p. 168. The following resolution of the Wiltshire clergy, bespeaks their growing sobriety, and more accurate perception of the limits of their function. “We fully resolve . . . not to meddle in word or deed,

with any matter of civil government, further than to stir up one another (if any just occasion be offered) conscientiously to maintain and exercise all Christian obedience to magistrates, as an ordinance of God.”

lives, together with their skill and faithful diligence for the good of souls (however almost all of them have been since silenced and cast out) that it's pleasant for me to remember the converse I had with them."^g

One of Cromwell's earliest ecclesiastical measures respected the examination of candidates for the ministry. Hitherto, it had been confided to the several presbyteries formed in London and the country; but as the presbyterians were generally adverse to his government, it was obviously his interest to devolve the work on others. To commit to those whose hostility was notorious, the selection of the public instructors of the people, would have been impolitic in the last degree. An ordinance was accordingly issued by the council, appointing Mar. 20, 1654. thirty-eight commissioners to examine and decide on the qualifications of all persons presented to any benefice, or nominated to any public lectureship, in England and Wales. Nine of the commissioners were laymen, the remainder consisted of presbyterian and independent divines, with three baptists. Drs. Owen and Goodwin, Philip Nye, Joseph Caryl, Stephen Marshall, and Hugh Peters, were among the number. The commissioners were specially to inquire respecting the personal religion of the party appearing before them,—“his holy and unblameable conversation,” and his general competence to the duties of the ministry. The ordinance

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Commission-
ers for the ex-
amination of
candidates for
the ministry.

^g Life, P. II., 150. “The more rigid members of the presbyterian party, disapproved of these associations, as tending to weaken the force of those parliamentary ordinances, which had established

their polity. These zealots preferred the way of compulsion to that of love, but happily, there were others of a better mind.—ib., p. 167.

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— was expressly provided that the approbation of the commissioners was not to be understood "to be any solemn or sacred setting apart of a person to any particular office in the ministry ; but only by such trial and approbation, to take care that places destitute may be supplied with able and faithful preachers ; and that such fit and approved persons faithfully laboring in the work of the gospel, may be in a capacity to receive such public stipend and maintenance, as is or shall be allotted to such places."^h Five constituted a quorum, but no applicant was to be rejected, unless nine of the commissioners were present. A certificate was required from three persons of known integrity, of whom one at least was to be a settled preacher, "testifying upon their personal knowledge the holy and good conversation" of the candidate ; and an exact registry was ordered to be kept of all proceedings. Their meetings were held in London, which entailed much expense and inconvenience, and led to frequent complaints of the dilatoriness of their procedure. Individual cases, however, were sometimes referred to ministers in the country, whose judgment was reported to the London board, and by them confirmed or modified.

The constitution of this board was formed on a thoroughly liberal principle. A majority of the clerical commissioners belonged to the presbyterian party, but their influence was tempered by the presence of independents and baptists. No civil engagement was required from the candidate for ordination, and

^h Scobell, P. 2, 279.

some of the sequestered clergy took advantage of this liberality to present themselves for trial, and thus regained possession of their livings. This was speedily notified to the protector, and a supplemental ordinance was issued, Sept. 2nd, enjoining that no person deprived for delinquency should be restored until proof had been given of his fidelity to the present government.ⁱ Such a provision was obviously necessary, and cannot be fairly objected to. It may have pressed hard upon individuals, but so long as the church is held under the surveillance of the state, and its ministers are content to share its patronage, it is both reasonable and just that they should give security for their civil obedience. Another step in advance of the protector's course would have relieved him from the necessity of issuing such a mandate, and have left religionists to supply by their voluntary contributions, the temporal necessities of those who labored for their spiritual benefit.

Another defect which the working of the present machinery elicited, was the vagueness of the province assigned to the commissioners. They were supplied with no fixed standard, by which to judge of the qualifications of those who came before them. Their proceedings consequently varied, according to the views and prepossessions of individuals. Some of the commissioners were too lax, and others were too rigid in their inquiries. The majority of them were undoubtedly disposed to the latter course, and the minuteness and complexity of their inquiries, served

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ⁱ Scobell, Part II., p. 365.

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<sup>THE
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TORATE.</sup> rather to confound the timid, and to alarm the conscientious, than to elicit the more substantial and permanent features of christian character. It was the fault of the age,—a fault from which the church is not yet wholly exempt,—to attach an undue importance to a minute specification of the time and circumstances of conversion. The season when this great change was wrought, the agents by which it was effected, the emotions it awakened, the fearful struggles by which it had been attended, the alternations of hope and fear, of joyousness and grief, which followed it, were all required to be laid down with a wearisome particularity. Many of the commissioners participated in this error of their age, and, as an inevitable consequence, their proceedings were sometimes more perplexing than profitable—more characteristic of the casuist, than of the enlightened and charitable spirit of the gospel.

Charges
against the
triers.

Various complaints were made against the triers, as the commissioners were generally called, into the grounds of which a brief scrutiny must be instituted. Their province was both invidious and delicate, and could scarcely fail to involve them in some questionable, if not culpable judgments. Their individual prepossessions, must have tended occasionally, to pervert their official decisions. To what extent this happened, and how far such result is attributable to inadvertence, or to malignancy, are points which require for their solution, a patient and sifting investigation of contemporaneous testimony. The charge of simony, preferred by Dr. Bates and Mr. Walker, may be dismissed without comment. It is advanced in the true spirit of party

spleen, and serves rather to lower the reputation of the witness, than to prejudice the cause of the accused.

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Bishop Kennet's statement of the case, may be taken as fairly exhibiting the tenor and strength of the criminatory charge. "This holy inquisition," he says, "was turned into a snare to catch the men of probity and sense, and sound divinity; and to let none escape, but the ignorant, bold, canting fellows. For these triers asked few or no questions in knowledge, and learning, but only about *conversion* and *grace in the heart*; to which the readiest answers would arise, from infatuation in some, and the trade of hypocrisy in others. By which means the right of patronage was at their arbitrary pleasure, and the character and ability of divines was whatever they pleased to make them; and churches were filled all with little creatures of the state."^k The burden of this accusation is, the greater importance attached to the piety, than to the scholarship of the ministerial candidate; nor will it be an excess of candor towards the triers, to conclude that this constituted their main offence. It is easily conceivable, that they sometimes pressed their inquiries injudiciously, that they offended against good taste, and delicacy of sentiment, and Christian courtesy, in their efforts to ascertain the religious state of the parties who came before them. All this may be admitted, and even more than this, but it would be absurdly illogical to conclude from such premises, that they deluged the church with feeble-mindedness and illiteracy. They may have erred in individual

^k Complete Hist., 3, 192.

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cases, mistaking scrupulousness for ignorance, timidity for unbelief, or bold assumption for religious faith,—but it will still remain to be decided, whether their policy was not sound, and the general result of their labors conducive to the spiritual welfare of the people. So long as the clergy degrade themselves by receiving the wages of the state, they must be content to submit their qualifications for office, to some examination. Whether the object proposed, will be best obtained, by such an inquiry as the bishops had practised, or the presbyterians instituted, or by such a mixture of laymen and clergy, as the present ordinance exhibited, is a question which may safely be left to the judgment of history. Of the “soldiers, bankrupt tradesmen, and shop-keepers,” whom Bates represents as inflicted on the church, by the triers, not one, who chose to conform, was ejected at the Restoration. By assenting to the terms of communion then enforced, they became a judicious, able, and learned ministry,—so prejudiced are the judgments of party writers. The theological opinions of the triers were thoroughly calvinistic. They regarded arminianism, as a spurious form of religious truth, from which it became them to protect the church; and their questions were consequently so shaped as to detect the heresy of the Leyden professor. The presbyterian, and independent, and even the baptist, might safely present himself for examination; but the opposer of the current theology of the day, was sure to be rejected as unsound in the faith, and unfit for the church’s service. “Is not the professing of these truths,” said John Goodwin, the republican advocate of arminianism,

“a bar against all ecclesiastical promotion in the process of their consistory? Is it not their manner to screw, and dive as deep as they know, into the judgment of those that come before them, to discover, whether there be not some touch, or tincture, some propension or verging towards those opinions? If they answer tenderly, or whisper the least iota in favor of those opinions, they are lost and undone! They are condemned, they and theirs, by these consistorian judges, to the spade or flail, to cleanness of teeth, or begging their bread where they can find it.”¹

Richard Baxter was no friend to the triers, and made no secret of his hostility to Cromwell’s government. He was intimately acquainted with their proceedings, and was in frequent controversy with some of their leading members; yet the following testimony is as honorable to them, as it is illus-

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Testimony of
Baxter.

¹ Jackson’s Life of John Goodwin, p. 365. Goodwin was the most formidable assailant of the triers, owing to the soundness of the principles on which his general reasoning is based. Similar ground was taken in a publication, entitled “A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ, and godly people, in and about the City of London, concerning the Kingly interest of Christ, and the present sufferings of his Cause and Saints in England.” This treatise was published in 1654, in the name of several baptists, and assailed the triers with all the fearlessness and vehemence which, characterised the more fanatical members of that sect. “Are not the new court of triers at Whitehall, for ministers,” say the writers, “of like make with the

High Commission court? The graven image of the worldly power, creating a worldly clergy for worldly ends; highly scandalous; against the rule of the gospel and the faith of Christ, and as much to be exploded as the pope and the prelate? Notwithstanding they assume the title of orthodox and soundness of opinion, to themselves; and on that account charge others who are not one with them in their carnal and anti-christian interests, with errors and rashness.”—Ivimey’s Baptists, 1, 230.

The commissioners stood midway between the prelatists and the sectaries, and were equally hated by both. The reasoning of the latter, however, was most conclusive, because most just.

CHAP. trative of his own integrity and frankness. " Be-
XX. cause this assembly of triers is most heavily accused

^{THE}
^{PROTEC-}
^{TORATE.} and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them ; and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries, as to their opinions, and because I was known to disown their power, insomuch that I refused to try any under them upon their reference, except a very few, whose importunity and necessity moved me (they being such as for their episcopal judgment or some such cause, the triers were like to have rejected). The truth is, that although their authority was null, and though some few over busy, over rigid Independents, among them, were too severe against all that were arminians, and too particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men, that favored antinomianism or anabaptism ; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers ; that sort of men that intended no more in the ministry than to say a sermon, as readers say their common prayers, and so patch up a few good words together, to talk the people asleep with on *Sunday* ; and all the rest of the week go with them to the ale-house, and harden them in their sin ; and that sort of ministers that either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that never were acquainted with it ; all those that used the ministry, but as a common trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a soul ; all these they usually rejected ; and in their stead,

admitted of any that were able, serious, preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were. So that though they were many of them somewhat partial for the independents, separatists, fifth-monarchy men, and anabaptists ; and against the prelatists and arminians ; yet so great was the benefit above the hurt, which they brought to the church, that many thousands of persons blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the prelatists afterwards cast them out again.”^m

The province of the triers, with a very limited exception, was prospective. It respected the future rather than the past, and was designed for the prevention, not for the cure of evils. Their immediate and avowed purpose, was to guard the church against the intrusion of improper persons into her offices. The existing ministry, however, was not deemed faultless, and another ordinance was consequently issued by Cromwell and his council, Aug. 28. the preamble of which set forth, that the propagation of the gospel, and the settlement of a faithful ministry, were much impeded by the continuance of diverse scandalous and insufficient ministers, and school-masters, in the churches and public schools of the nation. Commissioners, both lay and clerical, were appointed in each county, to examine complaints against the clergy, and were empowered to deprive such as were convicted of blasphemous and atheistical opinions, or of profane cursing, swearing, and perjury, or of maintaining any of the popish opinions specified in the oath of abjuration,

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Commissioners
for ejecting
scandalous
ministers.

^m Life, Part I., p. 72.

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or of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns, frequent playing at cards or dice, and profaning the sabbath-day. Such also as had publicly and frequently, since the first of the preceding January, used the Book of Common Prayer, or were in the habit of scoffing at, or reviling, the strict professors of religion, or who encouraged, by words or practice, whitson-ales, wakes, morris-dances, may-poles, and stage-plays, or evinced by writing, preaching, or otherwise, their disaffection to the present government, were subjected to a similar penalty.ⁿ The accused party was to receive due notice of the process instituted against him, with a full opportunity of vindicating himself. Five commissioners were authorised to pronounce sentence of deprivation, in cases of scandal, but ten, half of whom were to be ministers, were necessary to a conviction for ignorance or insufficiency ; and a portion of the proceeds of the forfeited benefice was to be reserved for the support of the family of the ejected minister.

Grounds for
their appoint-
ment.

The judgment pronounced on this ordinance must be regulated by the view taken of the character of the clergy of that day. If, as Dr. Walker and others allege, they were upright and blameless, the honest and laborious pastors of the churches of Christ, then it is impossible to pronounce too severe a censure, on the hypocrisy and falsehood evinced in this state paper. Its long catalogue of crimes must, on such a supposition, have been an insult to the common sense of the nation—an impotent and ridiculous attempt to heap opprobrium on a meritorious set of men.

ⁿ Scobell, Part II., p. 335.

It is impossible, on such a hypothesis, to reconcile the general tenor of the ordinance with the usual sagacity of Cromwell's policy. The transparent integrity of the men assailed, would have awakened derision, and pointed the finger of scorn, at the base effort to defame them. There must have been some ground,—some colorable pretext—for the charges implied, or the protector's edict would have fallen powerless to the ground. At the commencement of the civil war, the mass of the clergy were thoroughly secular, and a considerable number of them immoral. They had been thinned by successive ejectments, but ignorance and consequent inefficiency, accompanied in some cases, by open vice, were still the characteristics of many. It is easier therefore, to impugn the judgments of the commissioners, in particular cases, than to disprove the necessity for some such tribunal as they constituted. Their numbers were considerable, and some of them were prejudiced, others ill-informed, and many uncharitable and violent. Their powers were no doubt occasionally wrested to the perversion of justice, and the annoyance or injury of virtuous men; but the influence of the least qualified among them, was tempered by the better spirit, and more enlightened views of their associates.

The case of Dr. Pococke, the professor of Arabic at Oxford, may serve as a specimen. He held the living of Childrey in Berkshire, and being summoned before the commissioners for that county, was in danger of being ejected. Dr. Owen was at the time vice-chancellor of the university, and though his political views differed greatly from Pococke's, he keenly felt the injustice which was threatened to

Dr. Owen's
interposition
on behalf of
Dr. Pococke.

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his associate, and the dishonor which must accrue from its being perpetrated. He accordingly wrote to Thurloe, and his letter is happily preserved. "There are in Berkshire," says the independent divine, "some few men of mean quality and condition, rash, heady, enemies of tithes, who are the commissioners for the ejecting of ministers. They alone sit and act, and are at this time casting out on slight and trivial pretences, very worthy men; one in especial, they intend the next week to eject, whose name is Pococke, a man of as unblameable a conversation as any that I know living; of repute for learning throughout the world, being the professor of Hebrew and Arabic in our university; so that they do exceedingly exasperate all men, and provoke them to the height. If any thing might be done to cause them to suspend acting until this storm be over, I cannot but think it would be good service to his highness and the Commonwealth, to do it."^o Not content with this appeal, Owen repaired, in company with Drs. Ward, Wilkins, and Wallis, to the meeting of the commissioners, and warmly expostulated with them on the injustice and absurdity of their proceedings; representing, with all the warmth of an honest indignation, the unmeasured contempt they would heap on themselves by ejecting, for insufficiency, a man whom the learned of Europe conspired to honor. His appeal was irresistible, and Pococke was discharged from further attendance on the commissioners.^p

Such cases serve undoubtedly to show, that

^o Thurloe's State Papers, 3, 281. ^p Orme's Owen, 118.

ignorance, or party spleen, may sometimes have triumphed in the judgments of the commissioners ; but there are other facts recorded, which incontestably prove that their scrutiny was frequently less severe, and their decision more charitable than their enemies allege. An instance of this is furnished in the case of Fuller, the church historian, whose quaint humor and ever flowing wit, were happily chastened by the mild and catholic spirit of Christianity. Having been cited before the commissioners, Fuller was alarmed for the result, and applied to his friend, John Howe, for advice. " You may observe, sir," was his characteristic remark to Howe, " that I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait : I beg you will be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through." Howe's advice is not recorded, but its soundness is evidenced in the simple and straightforward reply which his alarmed friend made, to the inquiry of the commissioners. The usual question being asked, " Whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace on his heart ?" Fuller, instead of perplexing himself by a minute detail of the history and marks of his conversion, gravely replied, " He could appeal to the searcher of hearts, that he made conscience of his very thoughts ;" and this reply, though sufficiently vague and brief, was received as satisfactory by his examiners.⁹

The number of persons ejected by the commissioners, was probably very small. The paucity of evidence on which to found a judgment, is in favor

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TORATE.Case of Fuller,
the church
historian.⁹ Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 20.Number of per-
sons ejected.

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of this conclusion ; and Dr. Walker is consequently compelled to resort to vague statements and general reasonings, in order to make out the unfavorable case which he wished to establish. He acknowledges not having met with any information on which even a conjecture could be founded : but, instead of admitting the conclusion, obviously resulting from this fact, he infers, from the extent of the commission, and the diligence recommended to the ejectors, that considerable numbers of the clergy must have been dispossessed.^r To this reasoning, it is sufficient to reply, that, the proceedings of the commissioners were public, and that those who felt themselves aggrieved by their judgments, evinced no disposition to conceal their grievances. Their complaints were freely uttered, and put on record. They impugned the motives, assailed the character, and burlesqued the examinations of their judges. The restoration speedily followed, with its disgraceful re-action ; when profane wit, and perverted learning, and party spleen, all indulged themselves at the expense of the despised and powerless sectaries. It was then the surest passport to episcopal favor, to report a false judgment, or to invent a libel, against the men of the Commonwealth. The absence of evidence of guilt is, under such circumstances, equivalent to a proof of innocence. “I am well satisfied,” says Neal, referring to the ejected clergy, “there were none of any considerable character ; for there were not a great many zealous loyalists in livings at this time ; and those that were, had the wisdom to be silent about

^r Walker, Part I., p. 193.

public affairs, while they saw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commissioners continued to act till some time after the protector's death, and were a greater terror to the fanatics and visionaries of those times, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.”^s

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Of the general effect of their proceedings, it is difficult to speak in exaggerated terms. They may have erred—they undoubtedly did so—in particular cases; but the nation was, on the whole, vastly benefited by their labors. They carried forward the reforms achieved by the Long parliament, and on retiring from their vocation, left the benefices of the church in the possession of men, unsurpassed for religious zeal, and ministerial diligence. The men whom Walker impudently terms, “the vilest and most worthless wretches,” constituted a class, infinitely superior to the clergy of the restoration. Deficient it may be in some of the graces, and wanting occasionally the softer features of our nature, they were richly endowed with all its higher qualities. To an integrity, which no bribe could pervert, they added a depth of religious feeling, and an entire sympathy with the great ends of their spiritual function which the world has never seen surpassed. Their virtues were subjected to a fiery trial; but their lustre, instead of being impaired, only shone forth the more brightly from the depths of their poverty and reproach. Richard Baxter was no friend to the ecclesiastical measures of this period, and was strongly prejudiced against the men in

General result
of their labors.

^s Neal, 4, 103.

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power, yet he bears honorable testimony to the marvellous improvement effected in the character of the ministry. His testimony is the more weighty, as he showed no disposition to diminish the evils which resulted, in his judgment, from the overthrow of presbyterian ascendancy. All his prejudices were adverse to the now dominant party ; yet his heart was too honest to resist the evidence of facts. The following passage, occurring in a work published in 1656, may be taken as his calm and settled judgment on a question respecting which he was peculiarly qualified to speak.

“ For all the faults that are now among us, I do not believe that ever England had so able and faithful a ministry since it was a nation, as it hath at this day : and I fear that few nations on earth, if any, have the like. Sure I am the change is so great within these twelve years, that it is one of the greatest joys that ever I had in the world to behold it. Oh, how many congregations are now plainly and frequently taught, that lived then in great obscurity ! How many able, faithful men are there now in a county, in comparison of what were then ! How graciously hath God prospered the studies of many young men, that were little children in the beginning of the late troubles ; so that now they cloud the most of their seniors ? How many miles would I have gone twenty years ago, and less, to have heard one of those ancient, reverend divines, whose congregations are now grown thin, and their parts esteemed mean by reason of the notable improvement of their juniors ! And, in particular, how mercifully hath the Lord dealt with this poor county (Worcestershire), in raising up so many of

these, that do credit to their sacred office, and self-denyingly and freely, zealously and unweariedly, do lay out themselves for the good of souls ! I bless the Lord that hath placed me in such a neighbourhood where I may have the brotherly fellowship of so many able, humble, unanimous, peaceable, and faithful men. Oh that the Lord would long continue this admirable mercy to this unworthy country ! I hope I shall rejoice in God while I have a being for the common change in other parts, that I have lived to see ; that so many hundred faithful men are so hard at work for the saving of souls, "*frementibus licet et freudentibus inimicis* ;" and that more are springing up apace. I know there are some men, whose parts I reverence, who being in point of government, of another mind from them, will be offended at my very mention of this happy alteration ; but I must profess, if I were absolutely prelatical, if I knew my heart I could not choose for all that, but rejoice. What ! not rejoice at the prosperity of the church, because men differ in opinion about its order ? Should I shut my eyes against the mercies of the Lord ? The souls of men are not so contemptible to me that I should envy them the bread of life because it is broken to them by a hand that had not the prelatical approbation. Oh that every congregation were thus supplied ! But all cannot be done at once. They had a long time to settle a corrupted ministry ; and when the ignorant and scandalous are cast out, we cannot create abilities in others for the supply ; we must stay the time of their preparation and growth ; and then, if England drive not away the gospel by their abuse, even by their wilful unre-

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formedness, and hatred of the light, they are likely to be the happiest nation under Heaven. For as for all the sects and heresies that are creeping in daily and troubling us, I doubt but the free gospel managed by an able, self-denying ministry, will effectually disperse and shame them all.”^t

Ecclesiastical
proceedings in
Wales.

The religious condition of Wales called still more loudly than that of England for reform. Both the clergy and the people were sunk into the grossest ignorance, and had escaped during some years the measures that were enforced in other parts of the kingdom. The attention of parliament, however, was at length steadily fixed on the Principality, and the Act of Feb. 1650, was designed to bring its clergy into harmony with those of England. Walker exceeds his usual bitterness and rancor, in speaking of this Act, and of the commissioners by whom its provisions were enforced: yet his wearisome narrative utterly fails to vindicate the Welsh clergy from the heavy charges preferred against them. They were at once ignorant and immoral, alike disqualified for their vocation, and indisposed to the discharge of its duties. Vavasor Powell was the most active and useful of the ministers, by whose advice the commissioners proceeded in supplying the country with preachers.^u His character

^t Reformed Pastor. Works, 14, 152.

^u On returning to Wales in 1646, Powell addressed himself with apostolical zeal to the instruction of his countrymen. “When he came down again,” says Crosby, “into his native country, he applied himself to his Lord’s work with great zeal, and diligence, travelling from place to

place, and taking all opportunities to preach the gospel, and win souls to Christ. He frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in a week throughout the year, out of the pulpit, nay, he would sometimes ride an hundred miles in a week, and preach in every place, where he might have admittance, either night or day;

is therefore cruelly assailed by the episcopal advocate; and the anonymous slanders of the day, which Powell triumphantly refuted, are unscrupulously retailed. The defence of the parliament's agent is happily on record, and no candid mind can question its validity.^v A large number of the Welsh clergy were ejected, of whom Powell asserts that "he knew not any in the six counties of North Wales, that had the power of godliness, and very few the form. Most of them," he adds, "were unpreaching curates, or scandalous in their lives."

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The commissioners experienced great difficulty in supplying their place. Itinerant preachers, contemptuously designated, "gospel postilions," by Walker, were therefore appointed for each county, with a salary of one hundred pounds; and several laymen were assisted by small grants, to

so that there was hardly a *church, chapel, or town hall*, in ALL Wales, where he had not preached; besides his frequent preaching in *fairs, and markets, upon mountains, and in small villages*. For if he passed at any time through any place where there was a concourse of people, he would take the opportunity of preaching Christ, and recommending to them the care of their souls, and another world. The pains that he took, and the fatigues he endured, were very great and uncommon, and such as filled all that knew him with admiration. And God was pleased to bless his labours with proportionable success. The people flocked with great zeal and desire to attend his ministry, and many were by his means turned unto the Lord. And whereas, when he left Wales in 1642, there was not above one or two gathered churches in those

parts, now they began to increase apace; and before the restoration, there was above twenty distinct societies formed; of which some had two, some three, and some four or five hundred members." —Hist. of Baptists, 1, 367.

^v Powell vindicated himself in two publications; the first, printed in 1653, entitled, "Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris," was supported by the certificates of several persons of good credit, and of substantial property, who were conversant with his proceedings; and the second, was issued in 1661, when the author was in prison for the testimony he had borne to the truth. In conformity with the style of the age, it was entitled "The bird in the cage chirping; ora brief narrative of the former propagation and late restriction of the Gospel in Wales."—Calamy's Comp., p. 47.

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devote a portion of their time to the religious instruction of the ignorant. Such a system, though offensive to clerical pride, was well suited to the circumstances of the country, and the happiest consequences flowed from it. It was not carried out to the extent that was needful, but in its measure it worked well, and thousands rejoiced in its fruits. A new spirit was diffused through the Principality ; its rude districts were visited by the healthful influences of a vigorous piety, and churches were gathered to the Lord. These measures naturally gave offence to all who secretly adhered to the old system, and a petition was accordingly presented to parliament, complaining of the negligence of the commissioners, in not supplying the vacant livings, and charging them with embezzling the revenues they had sequestered. The petition was referred to the committee for plundered ministers ; but the changes which took place prevented any measure being founded on it. When Cromwell, however,

Aug. 30, 1654.

came into power, he issued an ordinance, appointing Sir Hugh Owen and others, commissioners, for the examination of the accounts of the sequestrators.^w These accounts were freely rendered, and though Powell and others were now in opposition to Cromwell, the agents of the latter could detect no embezzlement or inaccuracy. The accounts were examined, and passed August 10, 1655.^x Such a vindication should silence, if it cannot satisfy, the partizans of faction. It was the Protector's policy to defame the men with whom Powell acted, but their integrity was too obvious to allow of their conviction.

^w Scobell, P. 2, p. 347.^x Walker, P. 1, p. 169.

CHAPTER XXI.

Success of Cromwell's Foreign administration—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on the Instrument of Government—A recognition of his Authority enforced by Cromwell—General dissatisfaction—Hostility of the Republicans—Fifth-monarchy men—Their preachers summoned before Cromwell—Resolution of Parliament undiminished—Its ecclesiastical measures—Committee of Fundamentals—Limitation of the Protector's negative—Prosecution of John Biddle—Royalist insurrections—Apprehension of Republicans.

Cromwell had now exercised the powers of sovereignty for some months, and the vigor of his foreign administration placed England in a proud position among the European states. He concluded an advantageous and honorable peace with Holland and Portugal, in which the former agreed to exclude the young Prince of Orange,—the grandson of Charles I., and the future William III.,—from all offices of dignity and power.^a He entered also into

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Cromwell's
Foreign ad-
ministration.

^a A remarkable instance of the even-handed justice of the protector's government, was furnished in the execution of Don Pantaleon Sa, the brother of the

Portuguese ambassador, on the afternoon of the day, on which the Portuguese treaty was signed.—Whitelocke, 550, 577.

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a treaty of amity and commercial intercourse with Christina, the celebrated Queen of Sweden, and was courted in terms the most respectful and adulatory by the other continental powers. The monarchs of Europe recognized in his ascendancy, the growth of a power, from whose activity, vigor, and undauntedness, they had much to dread. France and Spain courted his friendship, and sought to engage him in their quarrel; but Cromwell wisely resolved to maintain a neutrality, as alone consistent with his own safety, and the welfare of his people.^b The splendor of his foreign administration, partially concealed the defects and weakness of his domestic government. The pride of Englishmen was gratified by the station which their country assumed among the nations of Europe; and forgave, for a moment, the violence of the usurpation that had led to such a result. As contrasted with the foreign policy of Charles the second, Cromwell's government is entitled to the highest admiration.

^b Thurloe, 1, 759. Even Clarendon's party pages are constrained to bear honorable witness to the success of Cromwell's foreign policy. "The protector," says the historian, "had now nothing to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble submission, Denmark being contented with such an alliance as he was pleased to make with them; and France and Spain contending, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the strict government of Monk, who, after the peace with the Dutch, was sent back to govern that province, which was reduced

under the government of the English laws, and their kirk, and kirkmen entirely subdued to the obedience of the state with reference to assemblies or synods; Ireland being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the protector's commands; so that commissions were sent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English who had adhered to the king, amongst those adventurers who had supplied money for the war, and the soldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal assignations in lands: one whole province being reserved for the Irish to be confined to."—Hist. of Rebel. 7, 33.

The Instrument of government had appointed a meeting of parliament on the third of September, and the writs were accordingly issued in June.^c The members returned represented substantially the middle classes. Many of them had served in the Long parliament, and the tenor of their debates soon made it apparent, that they cherished the spirit of that celebrated assembly. Cromwell opened the house in great pomp, and addressed the representatives at considerable length, in a speech that skilfully combined all the topics of state policy and of religious zeal which were likely to affect them. He was honestly concerned to rule the nation, in unison with its representatives. Govern he would, and was firmly persuaded that a necessity was laid upon him to do so. But his ambition was high-minded, and if debased by selfishness, was intimately allied with the honor and welfare of his country. He now met the national representatives with a proud consciousness of having discharged his high trust ; and his hopes of conciliation and triumph were, not unnaturally, high. “He had an opportunity,” remarks a somewhat too partial historian, “if ever human being had, of practically forming a judgment of the nature of man. He had encountered all the storms of civil contention ; he had been exposed to the utmost virulence of successive parties ; there was no sort of contumely that had not been heaped upon him Plots and conspiracies, pistols and daggers, had been prepared to destroy him. In the midst of these things he stood, as a man of true magnanimity always does,

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PROTEC-
TORATE.Meeting of
parliament,
Sep. 3, 1654.

^c Whitelocke, 574.

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XXI. — uncorrupted, unsoured, free from the smallest inter-mixture of spleen and misanthropy. He knew mankind ; and, in the result of his knowledge, he felt impelled to trust or confide in them.”^d

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TORATE

Debate on
the Instru-
ment of go-
vernment.

The difficulty of his position was soon apparent. The House consisted of three parties,—the presbyterians, the republicans, and the partizans of the Protector ; and the last was unequal to cope with the other two. The members showed no disposition to yield their freedom of speech. They were rather too sensitive than otherwise, and by their premature discussion of some leading points, seemed bent on overthrowing Cromwell’s power. The court party, —for the name was retained—urged that the Instrument of government should be approved as a whole ; but their opponents contended for its being subjected, clause by clause, to the judgment of the House.^e The latter course was adopted, and a warm debate took place on the first article, affirming the supreme legislative authority to be “in one person and the people assembled in parliament.” “In this debate,” says Ludlow, “Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scott, and many others, especially the lord-president Bradshaw, were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members, who had never before heard their interest so clearly stated

^d Godwin, 4, 107.

^e The debates of this parliament have not been preserved, and we are consequently indebted to contemporaneous writers for our knowledge of them. The condensed report supplied by the journal of Mr. Guibon Goddard, throws much light on them ; but the general absence of the names

of the speakers, diminishes its value. This journal is printed by Mr. Rutt, in his Introduction to Burton’s Diary. Every student of English history ought to feel deeply indebted to Mr. Rutt, for the pains he has taken to illustrate this portion of our parliamentary history.

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and asserted ; so that the Commonwealth party increased daily, and that of the sword lost ground.”^f The tenor of the debate alarmed the protector. He saw that his party was a minority of the House, and that he must therefore resign the government, and descend from his dangerous elevation, or perpetrate another act of military violence. He resolved on the latter, and his purpose was speedily executed.

On the twelfth of September, the doors of the House were locked, and all the avenues leading to it, were occupied by four companies of foot soldiers. As the members assembled, they were refused admittance, and were directed to proceed to the painted chamber, where Cromwell met them about ten o’clock.^g In a speech of considerable length, more compact and lucid than his ordinary orations, he vindicated his government,

A recognition
of his author-
ity demanded
by Cromwell.

^f Memoirs, 2, 500. The utmost freedom of speech was exercised. One member, whose name has not been preserved, went so far as to declare, “ That as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, he could not endure to see the nation’s liberties ready to be shackled by another, whose right to the government could be measured out no otherwise than by the length of his sword ; which alone emboldened him to command his commanders.” — Parl. Hist., 3, 1445.

^g “ Going by water to Westminster,” says Goddard, “ I was told that the parliament doors were locked up and guarded with soldiers, and the barges were to attend the Protector to the painted chamber. As I went I saw two barges at the privy stairs. Being come to the Hall, I was

confirmed in what I had heard. Nevertheless, I did purpose not to take things merely upon trust, but would receive an actual repulse, to confirm my faith.

“ Accordingly, I attempted up the parliament stairs, but there was a guard of soldiers, who told me there was no passage that way, that the House was locked up, and command given to give no admittance to any. That, if I were a member, I might go into the Painted Chamber, where the Protector would presently be. The mace was taken away by commissary-general Whalley. The Speaker and all the members were walking up and down the Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber, expecting the Protector’s coming ; the passage there, being likewise guarded with soldiers.” — Burton’s Diary. Introduction, xxxiii.

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and reproached them for their inconsistency in attempting to subvert the authority under which they had been elected. “I told you,” says the protector, referring to his former speech, “you were a free parliament, and so you are, whilst you own the government and authority that called you hither; for certainly that word implied a reciprocation, or it implied nothing at all.” Four things were represented, as fundamental, and therefore not to be questioned,—the government by a single person and a parliament, the non-perpetuity of parliaments, liberty of conscience, and a co-ordinate authority in himself and the representatives, over the militia.^b Other things were left to their disposal, and they were invited freely to discuss them, but “these

^b “Is not liberty of conscience in religion,” said Cromwell, “a fundamental? so long as there is liberty of conscience for the Supreme Magistrate, to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to have it; having liberty to settle what he likes for the publick. Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our contest; every sect saith, Oh, give me liberty! But, give him it, and to his power, he will not yield it to any body else. Where is our ingenuity? truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal. The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle religion according to his conscience. And I may say it to you; I can say it; all the money of this nation would not have tempted men to fight, upon such an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty

better than they had from episcopacy, or than would have been afforded them from a Scotch presbytery, or an English either, if it had made such steps, or been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when it was first set up.—This I say is a fundamental. It ought to be so; it is for us; and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the imposer, without fitting allowances, and exceptions from the rule, we shall have our people driven into wildernesses, as they were when those poor and afflicted people, that forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, for the enjoyment of their liberty were necessitated to go into a vast howling wilderness in New England, where they have, for liberty’s sake, stripped themselves of all their comfort, and the full enjoyment they had, embracing rather loss of friends, and want, than to be so ensnared, and in bondage.”—Parl. Hist., 3, 1454.

were not to be parted with, but to be delivered over to posterity, as being the fruits of blood and travail." He informed them he had hitherto refrained from requiring any recognition of the government established in December last, but that their recent conduct enforced a stricter policy, and that they must therefore subscribe a declaration before they would be permitted to resume their seats.^b The instrument was already prepared, and ran in the following terms: "I do hereby freely promise and engage that I will be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that according to the tenor of the indentures whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament, I will not propose, or consent to alter the government as it is settled in a sole person and the parliament." About one hundred members, with the speaker, immediately subscribed, and entering the House, adjourned till two o'clock.ⁱ Forty more did so in the course of

^b Parl. Hist., 3, 1446—1458.

ⁱ Goddard gives the following account of the reasonings of the Norfolk representatives on this occasion. "Our Norfolk members did not presently subscribe, saving only Mr. Frere, who instantly subscribed it. The rest of our members did most of us dine together, purposely to consult what was fittest to be done in so great an exigent, in order to the discharge of our trust. And, truly, the subscription was, in effect, no more than what we were restrained unto by our indentures, and the thing would be done without us, and we had fairly contended for it. We had not given the question, but it was forced from us, and we were told that plainly it must be so. For

these and several other considerations and reasons, which we thought ought to prevail with men preferring the peace of our countries, and the safety of our people immediately concerned in this affair, before passions and humours, we thought fit rather to give way to the present necessity, and to comply with it by submitting than refusing. Accordingly we did subscribe, all except Mr. Woodhouse, Mr. Hobart, and Mr. Church. And although we condemn the breach of privilege as much as any, yet we doubt not but to acquit ourselves to God, and to our country, in so doing, rather than to put the nation into another combustion and confusion."—Burton's Diary. Introduction, xxxv.

CHAP. the day, and within a month, the number of sub-
XXI. —scriptions amounted to three hundred. Bradshaw,
THE PROTEC- and the more determined republicans spurned the
TORATE. imposition. They preferred to vacate their seats
with honor, rather than to retain them at the cost of
independence. Retiring, therefore, from the na-
tional councils, they waited the course of events,
and yet hoped for an opportunity of redeeming
their country from the military usurpation under
which it had fallen.

**General dis-
affection.**

Cromwell's dangers now thickened around him. They were not limited to the parliament, but had their origin in the deep and all but universal feeling of the nation. The royalists plotted against his life, and the sectaries denounced him from their pulpits, as an apostate and tyrant. From having been the idol of the latter, he had become the object of their bitter enmity. His vigilance enabled him to defeat the designs of the royalists, but the means employed for this purpose, are a standing witness against his government. His spies were innumerable, they spread themselves over the country in all directions, obtained access to the consultations of his enemies, and reported to head quarters the machinations that were afloat.^k It was Cromwell's

* The following instance of the accuracy and minuteness of the information obtained by Cromwell, may serve as a specimen. A gentleman who had been in the service of Charles the First, requested permission to visit the Continent, and was permitted to do so, on condition of not seeing the young prince. Forgetful of his promise, he sent a message to Charles, soliciting an interview by night, which was granted. Supposing he had suffi-

ciently guarded against detection, he boldly presented himself, on his return, before Cromwell. "Have you faithfully observed your promise?" was the searching inquiry with which he was met, and having answered in the affirmative, he was confounded by the Protector asking, "Who was it put out the candles, when you spoke to Charles Stuart?" Cromwell proceeded to ask what had passed at the interview, and being informed that nothing im-

policy to permit the intriguers to proceed to the very hour of action; when he was sure to interpose, with a promptitude and vigor which crushed and confounded them. His system broke up the confidence of social life, but was imperatively demanded by the exigences of his position. Surrounded by unscrupulous foes, and wielding a sceptre abhorrent from the general feeling of the community, he was thrown back on his own resources.¹ Other men would have quailed before the dangers which threatened him, or would have lost amid the passions of the hour, every vestige of generosity and tenderness. But the genius of Cromwell was formed for the stirring times in which he lived. His proud spirit rose superior to the storm, and in the strength of its self-confidence, defied the secret plots and the open insurrections of the emissaries of Charles. He had defeated their armies, and he now triumphed over their intrigues. Charles and his attendant Clarendon were deeply implicated in the criminal designs of the royalists. A proclamation supposed to have been drawn up by the latter, was brought over from Paris in the spring of 1654, and circulated among the royalists, promising a reward of £500 a year, and the honor of knighthood,

portant had transpired, he further demanded whether he had not been entrusted with a letter. The reply being in the negative, Cromwell informed him that it was sown in the lining of his hat, and having possessed himself of the communication, ordered the delinquent to the Tower Wellwood, 111. Ludlow, 2, 608.

¹ "The Cavaliers," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "were every day forming designs and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, which

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being contrived in drink, and managed by coarse and cowardly fellows, were still revealed to Cromwell, who had most excellent intelligence of all things that passed, even in the king's closet; and by these unsuccessful plots, they were the only obstructors of what they sought to advance; while, to speak truth, Cromwell's personal courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents."—Memoirs, 2, 214.

CHAP. to any who “by pistol, sword, or poison,” should
XXI. destroy the Protector. The assassin’s knife, and the

THE PROTEC-
TORATE. deadly drug, were called into requisition, to do an
 act impiously affirmed “to be acceptable to God and
 good men.”^m Cromwell was aware of these pro-
 ceedings, and intimated to the prince that, if they
 were continued he should be compelled to retaliate.
 His high-mindedness shrunk from the employment
 of such agencies, but self-defence, the Protector
 might say, was the first law of nature.

Hostility of
the Republi-
cans.

The republicans were equally hostile to the Protector. They were divided into two branches, the political and the religious: the former headed by Vane, Bradshaw, and Scott; the latter, by Harrison and others. Some of these leaders partook of the qualities which distinguished both parties. Vane was at once a statesman and a mystic; while Harrison combined military qualities of a high order, with an enthusiasm as ardent and visionary as any of his soldiers.ⁿ The policy of Vane and his

^m Thurloe, 2, 248, 322. God-
 win, 4, 74. Clarendon assumes
 throughout his writings the high
 and dignified style of the mo-
 ralist. Yet his principles were
 sufficiently lax to allow of his
 employing the basest means for
 the accomplishment of his party
 ends. “It is painful to think,”
 remarks his recent and too par-
 tial biographer, “that the sophis-
 tries of faction could have so far
 warped the mind of a good and
 religious man like Hyde, as to
 induce him even to listen to pro-
 jects of assassination. That he
 did listen to such projects is ap-
 parent, not from any approving
 expressions, but from the fre-
 quent communications on that
 subject, which he permitted to be
 sent to him by Titus, and which

are evidently addressed to one
 who was not considered hostile
 to the plans they disclose.”—Lis-
 ter’s Life of Clarendon, 1, 425.

ⁿ Few men have more rea-
 son to complain of the judg-
 ment of posterity, than Harrison.
 He committed some errors, and
 who that has acted a prominent
 part in times of revolution, has
 done otherwise? But take him
 as a whole, he was a man of
 whom England may well be
 proud. Honest, undaunted, and
 of acknowledged military genius,
 he was inferior only to Cromwell,
 in the army, and was greatly his
 superior in integrity. His char-
 acter is ably vindicated by Mr.
 Godwin. Hist. of Common., 4,
 379—387.

associates was decided, yet cautious. They bore a public testimony against the usurper, by retiring from his councils, and by freely expressing their abhorrence of his tyranny, while they prudently refused to mix themselves up with the conspiracies that were afloat.

But the party which Harrison represented, was not to be thus restrained. His own conduct was unexceptionable,—frank but prudent; true to his avowed principles, yet tempered by a just sense of the evils which another revolution would bring on the country. But the fifth-monarchy men were incapable of reasoning in the calm spirit, and on the prudential considerations, of Vane and Bradshaw. They saw in the Protector a second Anti-christ; a power opposed to the setting up of that kingdom in the triumphs of which they were to share. With them it was a question of conscience, and admitted of no delay. They were the chosen heralds of Messiah, the liege subjects of the Prince of heaven. The voice of the Eternal God summoned them to bear witness, on his behalf, before an apostate generation. Faithful among the faithless, they stood alone, to achieve the mighty enterprise of stemming the torrent of a nation's corruption—of throwing back the polluted waters which threatened to deluge their Zion; and on the fair face of a renovated creation, to stamp the characters of paradise. Such was their faith; ethereal, yet earthly; high-minded, but visionary; having its origin in some of the noblest aspirations of the human mind, yet incrusted with the prejudices and passions of the channel through which it

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PROTEC-
TORATE.Fifth-monar-
chy men.

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XXI. passed.^o Their proceedings were consequently a
— strange mixture of wisdom and folly, of power and
THE PROTEC- weakness. Cromwell knew them well; he had
TORATE.

^o Some of the Fifth-monarchy men were distinguished by an exalted and blameless piety. Their visionary scheme arose out of the stimulating events of the day. Applying the splendid visions of prophecy to the passing circumstances of their times, they looked for the speedy annihilation of all anti-christian powers, and the establishment of an universal monarchy, under the immediate auspices, and personal superintendence of the Messiah. The extravagancies of the more violent members of the sect have, with glaring injustice, been attributed by our historians to the whole, and infidelity and a cold-hearted formalism, have thus sought to throw discredit on religion. The following exposition of their views is given in a publication issued by some churches in London, in 1654. "We find much misunderstanding among some, and misrepresentation among most, of the fifth-monarchy, or kingdom of Christ in the nations, which the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament do clearly and plentifully declare, with a positive period to the worldly heathenish laws, ordinances, and constitutions of men, as they are now executed in the nations of the world: and whereas, it is also upon the hearts of many of the choice servants of God, that in this present age, the Lord Jehovah is setting up the fifth kingdom, which shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces all the other kingdoms, and remain for ever and ever; and that, whereas at this time, the fourth monarchy is partly broken in these nations, it is that

Christ may be the *only Potentate, the King of kings*, and of all nations. Now, finding this the present truth so much opposed by the national rulers, and the clergy, yea, and by some godly people, and church members accounted orthodox, who cannot endure the day of the Lord's coming, we, therefore, are resolved, according to the presence and assistance of the Lord with us, to entertain a serious consideration, and debate for the benefit of all others, touching the premises, viz., of the laws, subjects, extent, rise, time, place, offices, and officers of the fifth monarchy or kingdom, whereby the world must be governed according to the word of God, without the mixture, as now is, of men's laws and inventions, whether in respect of magistracy or ministry, church or civil affairs. Which debate we intend to hold in this city of London; and we desire our beloved brethren who are one with us in the present truth and sufferings, whether in church or not, in city or county, who are enlightened, to take special notice of it for this end, that they may enjoy the like freedom with us in those meetings and debates, as often as they please to come. And if the Lord give us the liberty, we do purpose to proceed with the debate of it from this day onward, until we have taken a full narration thereof, so far as it shall appear to us out of the Scriptures, fit to publish to the view of all men, that our principles on that point of the fifth monarchy may be fully known."—Ivimey's Baptists, 1, 258.

shared their councils, and joined in their devotions. So long as was consistent with his policy, he had fanned their enthusiasm, and indulged their most visionary hopes ; but now that his object was obtained, and he himself stood in the place which Charles and the Presbyterians had formerly occupied, it was necessary to allay the storm he had been so instrumental in raising. Still he proceeded with caution, and mingled the language of conciliation, and the pleadings of offended friendship, with the stern rebuke of the military chieftain.

A weekly meeting of the fifth-monarchy men, partly religious and partly political, was held in Blackfriars, in the latter part of the year 1653.^p The ministers who attended, preached with “ very great bitterness ” against Cromwell’s government, calling him “ the man of sin,” and “ the old dragon,” and enforced on their hearers the duty of opposing his usurpation.^q One of them, named Feake, was summoned before a private committee, and admonished by the Protector, of the disorders which must flow from such proceedings; but instead of promising

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XXI.THE
PROTEC-
TATE.Their preach-
ers summoned
before Crom-
well.

^p Many of the fifth-monarchy men were advocates of adult baptism, and, in consequence of this fact, are termed Anabaptists in our historical records. This was the case with the parties frequenting the Blackfriars meeting.

^q The violence displayed at these meetings was strongly condemned by the great body of Congregationalists. Among the publications of the day, was one by Mr. Erbery, entitled, “ An Olive Leaf; or some peaceable considerations, &c., for Mr. Rogers, Mr. Powel, and the rest of the good people of Christ

Church,” wherein the author asks, “ Is it according to the rule and order of the gospel, for ministers of Christ to meddle with civil government, seeing his kingdom is not of this world? Did ever the ministers of the gospel speak against principalities and powers, though as bad as Nero? Doth civil government concern the glory of the gospel? Is monarchy in a king, any more against the reign of Christ, than aristocracy in a parliament? Is not the state of Holland, and commonwealth of Venice, as much for Antichrist, as the king of France or Spain.” Ivimey’s Baptists, 1, 256.

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XXI. obedience, Feake boldly charged his accuser with having tampered with the king, and assumed an exorbitant power. Cromwell denied the accusation, and would have committed the delinquent to prison, had not the Convention Parliament been sitting.

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TORATE.
Dec. 18. A few days afterwards, Cromwell was installed Lord Protector, and on the following Sunday, Vavasor Powell, and Feake publicly denounced him in their sermons at Christchurch, as “the dissembleingst perjured villain in the world,” and desired any of his friends who were present, to report their language to him, and at the same time, to inform him, “that his reign was but short, and that he should be served worse than that great tyrant, the last lord protector.” Such language was not to be permitted; it would have been sheer imbecility to have winked at it; and the preachers were consequently summoned before the council, and detained in custody for three days. The Blackfriars meeting was ordered to be suppressed, but the violence of the preachers being continued, Feake, and another of the name of Simpson, were apprehended in the following month, and sent prisoners to Windsor Castle. In the position of Cromwell he could not do otherwise, and it is to the credit of his magnanimity, that determining on power, he employed no severer measures against his assailants. Most usurpers would have crushed with all the bitterness of an apostate’s hatred, the men whose fearless honesty rebuked their guilt. His treatment of Harrison was more questionable. They had been companions in arms,—sworn friends to the faith and politics of each other. But Harrison retained his integrity, when Cromwell fell from

his elevation ; and suspicion and dread of his former associate, took possession thenceforward of the protector's breast. Harrison neither courted, nor shrunk from the hostility of Cromwell. Being asked whether he would own his government, he frankly declared he would not; and was, in consequence, shortly afterwards deprived of his commission, and ordered to retire to his native county of Stafford.^r The

^r Thurloe, 1. 621, 641, 642. Godwin, 4, 60. Harrison was one of those men whom Baxter was disqualified for duly estimating, and his delineation must therefore be received with caution. The following conversation, recorded by Ludlow, throws much light on the character and views of Harrison:—"I told him," says Ludlow, "that I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved him to join with Cromwell in the interruption of the civil authority; he answered that he had done it, because he was fully persuaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people. Then, said I, are you not now convinced of your error in entertaining such thought, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power? To which he replied, 'Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing . . . His second reason for joining with Cromwell was, because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any persons or things further than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs, reminding him that the generality of the people that had engaged with us, having acted upon no

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higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner, upon any pretences whatsoever. The Major-General then cited a passage of the prophet Daniel, where 'tis said, *That the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it*; to which he added another to the same effect, *That the kingdom shall not be left to another people*. I answered, that the same prophet says in another place, *That the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High*; and that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil that good might come from it; for, to deprive those of their right in the government, who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us; that such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present.' . . . He confessed himself not able to answer the argument I had used; yet said, he was not convinced that the texts of Scriptures quoted by him, were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them, and therefore desired a further conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with some friends to assist us in the clearing of this matter. I consented to his proposal, and so we parted; but

CHAP. suspicions of Cromwell subsequently prompted his arrest, but it was reserved for Charles and Clarendon, to crown the patriot soldier with the honors of martyrdom.

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PROTEC-
TORATE.**
The resolution of parliament undiminished.

Cromwell gained but little by his forcible expulsion of the republican members from parliament. The spirit of Bradshaw and Scott remained in the assembly, and was triumphant in debate. Those who subscribed the declaration, were anxious to vindicate themselves from the charge of having surrendered their parliamentary privileges: and many expedients were proposed for the satisfaction of such as still refused. "Much respect and tenderness was shown unto them," and the sitting members appeared solicitous to court their return, by prosecuting the fearless and searching policy which they had advocated. A declaration was drawn up on the 14th, affirming that their subscription "did not comprehend, nor should be construed to comprehend the whole government, consisting of forty-two articles," but only those which related to the administration of the Commonwealth by a single person and successive parliaments. The instrument of government was severely debated, and several votes were carried against the court party. A committee was appointed Oct. 10th, to examine the ordinances which had been issued by the Protector and his council, and numerous indications were afforded of the determination of the members to assert their legislative supremacy. Cromwell tried his utmost, but failed;

from that time forward, we had not an opportunity to discourse

further upon this subject." *Memoirs*, 2, 563—566.

the spirit of liberty was too rife to submit to his dictation, and it spoke out in tones which alarmed and irritated him. “He began to be weary of the parliament,” says Whitelocke, “and to have thoughts of dissolving it.” Numerous debates took place at Whitehall on this point; some of his advisers counselled him against it, and appealed to the evils which had flowed from former dissolutions, but others were more compliant, and sought the favor of the Protector, by falling in with his inclination.^s Satisfied at length of the hopelessness of the case, he determined on executing his purpose ; and with this view proceeded to the House on the 22nd of January, 1655.^t His speech on the occasion was bitterly reproachful. He felt, and deeply resented the failure of his hopes ; sketched in dim outline the difficulties which would encompass his path, yet avowed his unshaken reliance on his own resources, and the upholding providence of God. “I am like,” said the Protector, “to meet with difficulties, and were it not that I can make some dilemmas, upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment, and actions, I should shrink at the very prospect of my encounters. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good, he is able to bear us up ; let the difficulties be whatever they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter them. And I bless God I have

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^s Whitelocke, 592.

^t By the instrument of government, parliament could not be dissolved within five months of its meeting. The opposition party calculated on these months being calendar, and therefore, relied on their sittings being con-

tinued, at the very worst, till the 3rd of February ; but Cromwell computed by lunar months, and held consequently, that the duration to which the house was legally entitled, terminated on the day when he dissolved it.

CHAP. been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I trusted in him. I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these things to you.” He announced the existence of a formidable conspiracy on the part of the royalists, and of some Commonwealth men; and closed by declaring that, he was bound by his duty to God and the people, to inform them that it was not for the profit of the nation, nor for the good of the Commonwealth that their sittings should be continued any longer.^u

**THE
PROTEC-
TORATE.** On one point, the views of the Protector were more sagacious and just than those of the parliament. A majority of the latter were presbyterians, and their ecclesiastical policy was characteristic of the sect.^v Restrained from an open avowal of intolerance by the known sentiments and liberality of Cromwell, they yet endeavoured insidiously to abridge the religious liberty he fostered. On this point, the Protector remained immovably honest; nothing could divert him from it; and his steadiness of purpose constitutes his glory. His faith and policy were severely tried by the fifth-monarchy men; but in no case did he interfere, till their consultations threatened the disruption of civil ties, and the disorganization of the State. It was otherwise with the parliament. “ You had,” said Cromwell, in dissolving the house, “ opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing godliness, and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the godly of all judgments from running one upon another . . . Are these things done, or anything

Ecclesiastical
measures of
parliament.

^u Whitelocke, 592—599.

^v Baxter, P. 2, 199.

towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men, a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put their finger upon their brethren's consciences to pinch them there Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit if the power were in his hands." This complaint was not groundless, as a brief review of the proceedings of the house will show. The thirty-seventh article of the instrument of government, provided for the toleration and protection of such,—excepting only papists and prelatists—as professed faith in Jesus Christ, though they dissented from the established worship and discipline. This provision was framed in the best spirit of Cromwell's policy, and was enforced as one of the four points which he deemed fundamental. It was framed in a large and catholic temper, and was obviously designed to include all classes of religionists who maintained their allegiance to the state. The parliament dared not annul the article, knowing that this would be regarded by the Protector as tantamount to a declaration of war. They, therefore, adopted a more insidious policy, and chose to interpret the phraseology of the article, as being designed to secure the toleration of such only, as agreed in the fundamentals of Christianity.

A committee of the House was consequently appointed to nominate certain divines, who should prepare a list of doctrines, the belief of which was

Committee of
fundament-
als.

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deemed essential to salvation. The members of this committee each nominated one divine, some of whom declined the doubtful honor, but Drs. Owen, Goodwin, and Cheynel, Mr. Baxter, Marshall, Reyner, Philip Nye, Simpson, Vines, Manton, and Jacomb, consented to act, and held frequent consultations. The majority of them were presbyterians, and the subtle and disputacious temper of Baxter held them long in debate. Twenty articles were ultimately presented to the House ; but the unexpected dissolution of that assembly happily prevented any steps being founded on them.^w The policy of the divines in undertaking the task devolved on them by the committee was more than questionable. Neal reflects on their consistency, and confounds their province with that of parliament, attributing to them the narrow and intolerant sentiments in which their appointment originated. He represents them as actively concurring in those sentiments, and reasons as though their avowed object was to exclude Deists, Socinians, Antinomians, Quakers, and others from the pale of toleration.^x Mr. Orme urges in their vindication that

^w Baxter, P. 2, 197—205. Neal represents these articles as consisting of sixteen only, and says they were not brought into the house ; but the testimony of Baxter, and the following entry in the journals, prove him to be inaccurate on both these points. “ Sir William Marsham reports from the committee empowered to confer with divines touching articles of faith—twenty articles, with the proofs thereof, from Scripture. Resolved, That three hundred copies of these articles be printed, only for the service of the house ; and that they be delivered to the

clerk, to deliver one to every member ; and that no greater number be printed, nor that any of them be delivered to any other than the members.” These articles were subsequently read in the house, and proposed to be confirmed by a vote. Burton’s Dairy, Introd. cxix.

^x Neal’s reasoning on this point betrays great misconception, and confusion of intellect. “ It is unwarrantable presumption,” he says, “ for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the Christian religion, any further than the Scriptures have expressly

“they were called together to state, what in their opinion was fundamental in Christianity. With the propriety,” he adds, “of tolerating those who differed from them on the points of their declaration they had nothing to do. The use to be made of their paper was no concern of theirs, and to the question proposed to them, they religiously adhered, as they gave no opinion of any kind on the subject of religious liberty.”^y This defence is more specious than just. The divines were well informed of the temper which originated their appointment, and of the use which would be made of their labors. They ought therefore to have declined the invidious task, and to have enforced a more enlarged and tolerant policy. But their consistency was impaired by their reception of the wages of the state. They were the stipendiaries of the civil authority, and as such, were compelled to attend the bidding of their masters. Many of them would deeply have deplored the mischievous use which would have been made of their labors, if the sittings of parliament had been continued; but they were not free to decline the service required from them. Advocates of toleration themselves, they were placed in the disreputable position of aiding the intolerance of others. They lent themselves, unwittingly, it is true, but no less really, to the insidious policy of

declared it.” There is no questioning this position, but how does it bear on the case; the province of the committee being simply, to state what those points were which the Scriptures have so declared. Again, he asks, “Why should the civil magistrate protect none but those who profess faith in God by Jesus

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Christ?” to which Mr. Orme pertinently replies, “I also ask, why? The ministers were not called to answer it. Who proposed this as the law of toleration? Cromwell and his officers, or the parliament, according to our historian himself.”

^y Neal 4, 91. Orme’s Life of Owen, 115.

CHAP. the presbyterians, now bent on frustrating the generous designs of Cromwell.

**THE
PROTEC-
TORATE.** The same spirit which dictated the appointment of this committee sought on other points to narrow the bounds of toleration. On the eighth of December, it was voted that the protector should have a negative in the case of bills enforcing conformity to the established religion; but a proviso was added, expressly excepting such bills as required conformity from ministers receiving a legal maintenance, or which enjoined on the laity an attendance at some place of worship. These were to become laws, within twenty days after their presentation to the protector, although his consent to them should be refused.^z A negative was also granted the protector in the case of bills affecting liberty of conscience, but, as if to render this inoperative, it was resolved, that all laws against atheism, blasphemy, damnable heresies, popery, and prelacy, should be in force without his concurrence.^a

Dec. 11.

**Prosecution
of John Bid-
dle.**

The temper of the house was further shown in the prosecution of John Biddle, who had published, about the beginning of this year, a tract entitled, "A Twofold Catechism," in which he sought to propagate the doctrines of Socinianism. The publication attracted the early attention of Cromwell's council, who ordered it to be seized, and engaged Dr. Owen to prepare a reply.^b The parliament, however, took up the matter in a different temper.

^z Burton's Diary, Introd. cxii.

^a Whitelocke, 591. Burton's Diary, Introd. cxiii.

^b Godwin, 4, 147. Owen's learned refutation was entitled "Vindiciæ Evangelicæ; or the Mystery of the Gospel vindicated,

and Socinianism examined; in the consideration and confutation of a Catechism, written by John Biddle, M.A." Biddle's subsequent troubles sufficiently account for his not having replied to Owen.

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TORATE.
Dec. 13.

Jan. 15, 1645.

A committee was appointed to examine the work, together with another of Biddle's publications against the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and were empowered to summon him before them for examination. He was, subsequently, apprehended, and brought to the bar of the house, whence he was remanded to prison, "there to be kept," say the journals, "without pen, ink, or paper; in order to a further proceeding against him."^c It was ultimately resolved on the report of the committee, that his book was "full of horrid, blasphemous, and execrable opinions;" and all copies of it were ordered to be delivered to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who were commanded to see them burned by the hands of the common hangman. It was at the same time referred to the committee, to bring in a bill for the punishment of Biddle; but the speedy dissolution of the house prevented a completion of the design. Had their sittings been continued, his life would probably have been sacrificed; but under the more tolerant administration of Cromwell he regained his liberty on the 28th May, 1655.^d

The conspiracy to which Cromwell had alluded in dismissing the house, now engaged his attention, and required for a season all the energy and promptitude of his character. It comprised both royalists and republicans—the former seeking the

Royalist in-
surrection
suppressed.

^c Biddle acknowledged the authorship of the two publications objected against him, but honorably refused to give up the name of the printer. "Being asked, who printed these books, saith, hitherto he hath answered as a Christian, to give an account of the hope that is in him. What

the law of Christ doth warrant him to answer, he will do; but beyond that he will not. The law of Christ enjoins him not to betray his brethren." Journals.

^d Toulmin's Life of Biddle, 84. Burton's Diary, Introd., cxiv. cxvii. cxviii—cxxxi.

CHAP. restoration of the exiled prince ; the latter, hoping
XXI. by the overthrow of the existing government, to

THE PROTECTORATE. make way for the establishment of their theory.

The views of the two parties were to a limited extent the same. Both aimed at the life of Cromwell. He was the great obstacle in their path, and each trusted, by his removal, to compass their designs. So far, therefore, their views coincided, and the oneness of their object led to a correspondence and agreement. But the protector's sagacity was not to be eluded. He was thoroughly informed of their plots, knew the character and resources of the principal conspirators, and stood ready, at the proper moment, to strike them to the ground. The general character of the royalists was unfriendly to the consolidation of their scheme. Their loyalty was debased by selfish passions, and the low vices of debauchery. They were, with few exceptions, destitute of high moral principle, and were, consequently, wanting in that cohesion, mutual confidence, and chivalrous devotion to each other, which are essential to the success of such enterprises. Their efforts were therefore feeble, and were soon suppressed. Sir Henry Slingsby, and Sir Richard Maleverer, appeared in arms in the north, and were joined by Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, recently arrived from the prince ; but their movements were narrowly watched, and their forces speedily scattered. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, another of Charles's emissaries, repaired to the west, where a body of insurgents was assembled under Colonel Penruddock, one of the most estimable men of his party. They entered Salisbury during the night previous to the assizes, and seizing the judges and sheriffs in their bed, Wagstaff ordered their

immediate execution. His companions, however, and Penruddock especially, protested against the perpetration of so atrocious an act ; and the lives of the prisoners were thereby saved.^e The insurgents remained in the city but a few hours, and failing to recruit their numbers became dispirited, and dispersed themselves. Penruddock, and some other of the leaders being apprehended, were brought to trial, and executed ; but few of the inferior offenders suffered death.^f

Several republicans were secured about the same time, among whom were Harrison, Overton, Lord Grey of Groby, and Wildman. The last was seized in the act of dictating a paper to be issued in the name of “The free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell,” in which the language of reproach and

^e Clarendon basely justifies Wagstaff, and attributes much of the failure of the insurrection to his having been overruled. *Hist. of Rebel.*, 7, 140.

^f Whitelocke, 599, 601. Clarendon, 7, 138—146. Dr. Owen, at this time vice-chancellor of Oxford, actively employed himself in the support of the existing government. Writing to Thurloe, March 20, 1655, he says, “We are here in a quiet condition. I have raised and now well settled a troop of sixty horse, besides three officers. The town also hath raised some foot for their defence. We have some persons in custody on very good grounds of suspicion, and shall yet secure them. There is much riding to and fro in the night in the villages near us : but, as yet, I cannot learn any certain place of their

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meeting, so keep a continual guard, and hope that some good service towards the public peace hath been effected by our coming ourselves : the (gentlemen) of the county have met, are backward and cold ; but something we have gotten them to engage for towards the raising of some troops. Had I a blank commission or two for horses I could, as I suppose on good grounds, raise a troop in Berkshire, sundry good ministers and others having been with me to assist you to that purpose, if you think it necessary to have the work go on, as surely it is ; at least to engage men in such a city as this, wherein self-preservation helps on the public interest. Pray send me down one or two commissions to the purpose.” *Thurloe’s State papers*, 3, 281.

Apprehen-
sion of repub-
licans.

CHAP. XXI. invective is freely used, and a resolution announced
 ————— to procure justice, freedom, and a stable government
^{THE}
^{PROTEC-}
^{TORATE.} for the nation.^g Having defeated the designs of his republican opponents, the protector was satisfied. Their leaders were detained in custody, but none of them were sacrificed to the vengeance of an incensed government.^h

The failure of these insurrections served to strengthen the hands of Cromwell, who sought to improve the occasion, by issuing several ordinances of a popular tendency. He had endeavoured to rule by parliaments, but in despair of success, he now determined to make his people illustrious among the nations by the supremacy of his own genius. Here was his great mistake, and no sagacity or high-mindedness could remedy it. In apostatizing from his early faith, he committed a grand political error, and a thousand misdeeds followed in its train. The republican spirit and religious fervor of the nation were his great strength, and had he honestly sought to mould them into a consistent and permanent form; had he sacrificed his ambition to the good of his country; had he retained his patriotism unstained by selfish passions, he might have constituted himself the idol of his country,—the resplendent exemplar of those virtues which usually wither and die, when brought within the precincts of a court. It is impossible to trace his history without a melancholy feeling; or to

^g Whitelocke, 599. Godwin, 4, 165.

^h Thurloe's State papers, furnish abundant evidence of the

reality of this republican conspiracy. Vol. iii., 46, 55, 185, 206, &c.

avoid the conviction that he was largely qualified for nobler achievements than he effected. Combining in his nature many qualities of the highest order, he was eminently fitted to confer lasting benefits on his country. One false step, however, perverted his course, and served to enwrap in gloom and mystery a character which would otherwise be among the most illustrious on the page of history. Every generous mind must regret that he did not escape the one vice which served so fatally to distract his councils, to exhaust his resources, and to bring him to an untimely and unpitied grave.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Appointment of Major-Generals—Cromwell's care of the Universities—Their improved condition—Ordinance against the Episcopal Clergy—Its object—Conference at Whitehall respecting the Jews—Preparations for a new parliament—Meeting of parliament—Exclusion of Members—Prosecution of James Naylor—Petitions against the Quakers.

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Appoint-
ment
of major-
generals.

THE government of Cromwell now assumed the form of a compact military despotism. The kingdom was divided into provinces, over each of which an officer was appointed with the title of major-general. The ostensible design of this arrangement was the levying of a tax imposed on the royalists. Their insubordination, it was urged, rendered it necessary to continue a large standing army, and it was therefore but equitable that they should contribute liberally to its support. A tenth of their income was demanded for this purpose, and it was the province of the major-generals to exact it. Cromwell's views however proceeded much further than this. He sought to attach the officers to his service, by giving them an interest in the govern-

ment, and hoped to extend through all districts of the kingdom, a vigilant and effective police which should promptly suppress every token of disaffection. Another object of this scheme was the consolidation of a force, which might act as a counterpoise to the army, on whose fidelity the protector began to perceive he could not place implicit reliance. The major-generals were consequently empowered to organise a militia force, and were entrusted with powers sufficiently large and despotic. This arrangement displays in an unblushing form the progressive nature of despotism. It creates a necessity, to which it appeals in justification of its misdeeds. The opposition which its early advances encounters, is adduced in vindication of its growing severity, till at length a nation sinks into abject slavery, or rushes with generous madness on its oppressors. Cromwell was in reality serving the cause of Charles Stuart, in the measures he adopted to perpetuate his own authority.^a It is pleasing to turn from the melancholy spectacle to other and better features of his policy.

The two Universities engaged much of Cromwell's attention. They had suffered severely, as has already been narrated, during the civil war; and were sometimes threatened with destruction by the more violent and illiterate of the sectaries. Barebone's parliament is charged by the royalists with having designed their subversion. Clarendon says that regarding the ministry as anti-christian, and the tithe system as oppressive, they resolved to

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Cromwell's
care of the
universities.

^a For a minute account of the institution of these military officers, see Godwin's Common- wealth, B. 4., chap. 16. Harris's Life of Cromwell, 437—443.

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TORATE.

abolish them utterly, and “that there might not for the time to come, be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they proposed” he adds, “that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and the moneys that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions.”^b This statement is repeated by Echard and succeeding writers, with the usual exaggerations; yet it is affirmed by Mr. Godwin, whose accuracy rarely fails him, that there is no trace in the journals of the house of any such proposition.^c Individuals were found to advocate such an alienation, and there is reason to conclude, that at one period, their success did not appear improbable. William Dell, William Erbery, and John Webster, attacked the universities with considerable shrewdness and zeal, alleging that such institutions were unfriendly to the growth of piety, and incapable of answering any desirable end in the economy of the church of Christ. To what extent their influence prevailed, it is now impossible to ascertain. At one time, considerable apprehensions were entertained. Whence the danger impended, does not however appear, for Owen’s reference affords no details, and treats it as already passed. “Of that base attempt against the universities,” he says, in his academical oration in 1657, “in which, with the anger and opposition of God, some insane creatures in vain engaged, nothing remains, except the signal disgrace, and the never-to-be-forgotten insanity. As long, however, as

^b Hist. of Rebel., 7, 16.

^c Hist. of Common., 4, 101.

there shall be men who, with copious eloquence, shall be able to transmit, in eternal records, the deeds and decrees of the brave and wise, together with the infamy of the wicked, its authors will probably have reason to repent of that attempt.”^d In the favor of Cromwell, the universities found their security; and the measures he adopted rendered them the efficient nurseries of erudition and piety. He placed men of acknowledged eminence in the several chairs, and enforced on the students a vigorous and healthful discipline.^e During the present year, Commissioners were appointed to visit both universities, and were authorised to examine their statutes, with a view of abrogating, amending, or enlarging them, as the case might require, so as to promote their good government, and to advance piety and learning.^f The result was eminently beneficial, and should shame into silence the blind zealots of faction, who represent the times of the

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^d Orme's Owen, 132.

^e For a list of the eminent men who filled the chairs of Oxford, or were trained in its schools, see Orme's Life of Owen, 133—142. Owen, after speaking of the piety and candor of the masters and professors,—from several of whom it must be remembered he differed greatly in his ecclesiastical and political views,—bears the following honorable testimony to their eminence. “I could not but give such a public testimony, as a regard to truth and duty required from me, to the very respectable and learned men, the heads of the colleges, who have merited so highly of the church, for their distinguished candor, great diligence, uncommon erudition, blameless politeness;

many of whom are zealously studious of every kind of literature, and many, who, by their conduct in the early period of their youth, give the most promising hopes of future merit: so that I would venture to affirm, that no impartial and unprejudiced judge will believe that our university hath either been surpassed, or is now surpassed, by any society of men in the world, either in point of a proper respect and esteem for *piety*, for manners orderly and worthy of the Christian vocation; and for a due regard to doctrines, arts, languages, and all sciences, that can be ornamental to wise and good men, appointed for the public good.”—Ibid., 137.

^f Scobell, P. 2, p. 366.

CHAP. Commonwealth as a season of Gothic ignorance.
XXII. Oxford exhibited the most marked improvement.
THE PROTECTORATE. Sound learning flourished in her halls, and the exercises of an enlightened and fervent piety relieved the severe application of her students. Owen was mainly instrumental in the production of this change, and his success was greatly attributable to the zealous co-operation of the protector. “Our chancellor,” said Owen, in his second oration, “appeared foremost in our defence. Again and again, he protested that he had accepted the dignity only that he might discharge to their fullest extent, the duties annexed to it. . . . Providence had always appeared to cover him with its shield; from every peril of war, he had come forth unhurt and victorious; and now, at length, it is to him mainly, under God, we are indebted for the peace and prosperity which have returned to these seats of learning.”^a

Their improved condition. The improvement effected, was too palpable to be denied. Clarendon admits the fact, in a passage already quoted, though he absurdly attributes it to the richness of the soil, rather than to the diligence and skill of the cultivation.^b Philip Henry was a more unbiassed and better informed witness, and his testimony is thus given by his son. “He would often mention it with thankfulness to God, what great helps and advantages he had then in the university, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. Serious godliness was in reputation, and besides the public opportunities they had, there were many of the scholars that used to meet together for prayer, and christian conference, to the great confirming of one another’s hearts, in the fear and love of God,

^a Owen’s Works, 21, 583.

^b Vol. II., 393.

and the preparing of them for the service of the church in their generation. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they took then, about the university sermons on the Lord's day, in the afternoon ; which used to be preached by the fellows of colleges in their course ; but that being found not so much for edification, Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin performed that service alternately, and the young masters that were wont to preach it, had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them.”ⁱ

An honorable testimony is also incidentally borne by Anthony Wood, which the notoriousness of the fact alone could have extorted. Speaking of Henry Stubbe, a scholar of Christ Church, he says, “ While he continued under-graduate, it was usual with him to discourse in the public schools very fluently in the Greek tongue, as it was at the same time with one John Pettie, of Baliol, afterwards of Queen's college, and others whose names are forgotten. But since the King's restoration, we have had no such matters, which

ⁱ Life of Philip Henry, p. 19. An interesting anecdote is related by Calamy, in his Life of John Howe, which incidentally illustrates the state of things at Oxford, during the Commonwealth. Dr. Thomas Goodwin was president of the college of which Howe was a fellow : and several of the students, associated in church fellowship under his sanction, were in the habit of meeting for religious exercises. Howe's reputation for piety, led the president to expect that he would join the association ; but not doing so, Goodwin took an opportunity, when they were alone, to express his surprise. Howe, with characteristic frank-

ness, informed the president that his not having joined the society, was attributable to the importance attached by its members, to some distinguishing peculiarities, “ of which he had no fondness,” but that if they would admit him on Catholic terms, he would readily unite with them. Goodwin cheerfully consented to do so, and Howe was accordingly connected with his brethren. “ It is with no small pleasure,” remarks Calamy, “ I relate this passage, which is a proof that Dr. Goodwin was not so narrow and confined in his temper and principles, as some people have represented him.” — Life of Howe, p. 10.

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XXII.** show in some part, that education and discipline were more severe then (as indeed they were) than after, when scholars were given more to liberty and frivolous studies.”^j Such testimonies are a sufficient refutation of the slanders which have been propagated by a host of minor writers.

**THE
PROTEC-
TORATE.**
**Ordinance
against the
episcopal
clergy.**

OCT. 4.

The insurrections which had recently taken place, and the threats of assassination by which Cromwell was perpetually assailed, now determined him on strengthening the hands of the executive. The Episcopilians were his sworn and bitter foes. Their religious faith was entwined with royalist politics, and the two principles combined, prompted them to concur in every enterprise which aimed at the life or government of the protector. The clergy were especially active in these plots. Residing as chaplains in the families of the nobility and gentry, they became the channels of communication between different members of the royalist party, and gave the sanction of their name and office to the intrigues that were going on. Cromwell was aware of all this. For a time, he winked at it; regarded them as honest, though mistaken, men; and trusted to the leniency of his government, to conciliate them.^k Disappointed in his hopes, and incensed at their perpetual machinations, he now issued an order foreign from his usual policy, and on which his adversaries have seized with ungenerous triumph. After prohibiting the possession of arms to all who had suffered for delinquency, or had fought for the late king, or his son ; it pro-

^j *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2, 413. many proofs of this. Vol. II.,
^k Evelyn’s Memoirs supply pp. 50, 51, 58, 65, &c., &c.

ceeded to enjoin, that after the first of January, 1656, no minister, fellow of college, or schoolmaster, who had been sequestered or ejected, should be retained in any family as chaplain or teacher, nor be allowed to keep any school, either public or private. A similar prohibition was extended to their preaching "in any publick place, or any private meeting of any other persons than those of their own family;" and to their administering the sacraments, solemnizing marriage, or using the Book of Common Prayer. "Nevertheless," it is added, "his highness doth declare, that, towards such of the said persons as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given, or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of this nation."¹

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This ordinance was designed to terrify rather Its object. than to injure, and was, in point of fact, as Mr. Hallam remarks, "so far from being rigorously observed, that Episcopalian conventicles were openly kept in London."² It was one of the unhappy features of these times, that religion and politics

¹ Harleian Miscellany, 6, 420. Evelyn states that this edict was issued on the 27th of November. Memoirs, 2, 107.

² Const. Hist., 2, 428. Evelyn mentions having frequently attended meetings of this kind, the existence of which could not have escaped the vigilant eye of Cromwell. Under date of Aug. 3rd, 1656, he records, "Dr. Wild preached in a private house in Fleet Street, where we had a great meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally much more

devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity." Again, Dec. 25th, "I went to London to receive the B. communion—this holy festival, at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians." Memoirs, 2, 116, 117. So long as any bounds were observed, the Protector connived at these meetings: but when publicity was injudiciously sought, he was compelled to suppress them.

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TORATE.

were so intimately blended as to admit of no practical disjunction. Cromwell was desirous of extending toleration to all ; to the Catholic as well as to the Protestant; to the Episcopalian equally with the Presbyterian and Independent. From this generous policy, however, he was compelled partially to swerve, in the case of the Episcopilians and Catholics. These parties had sunk into two sections of one political faction, whose embittered hostility to his government was the prominent and most practical article of their creed. Their religion was the rallying point of disaffection—the perpetual incentive to revolt. He was constantly goaded to severity by their plots, and must have been more of a philosopher than is usual with statesmen, if he had not sought to discourage their religious faith. This was the real origin of the ordinance in question; hence, when Archbishop Usher, at the request of several of his brethren, waited on Cromwell to entreat him to grant to Episcopilians the same liberty of worship as was enjoyed by others, he, at first promised to recall the declaration, but on a second interview declined to do so, alleging that, “having advised with his council, they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government.”ⁿ The ordinance was therefore retained, though but few instances of its execution occurred. It was held in terror over the adherents to the ancient faith, from a conviction that no milder or more generous policy would retain them in obedience. It was not against

ⁿ Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 430.

Episcopacy that Cromwell warred, but against the politics—ever restless and plotting, with which its profession was associated. This reasoning must in candor be admitted to extenuate the severity of his ordinance. Still it was an unadvised and intolerant measure; an off-shoot from that code of persecution which the bishops had deemed so sacred. It is both impolitic and unjust to punish one offence under pretence of another; or to involve the innocent, however pure, in the condemnation passed on the guilty. Cromwell would have acted more in character, and more in keeping with his general policy, had he left the religious faith of his enemies untouched, and contented himself with enforcing their civil obedience. The former was without, but the latter was within, the scope of his legislation.

That he resorted to this measure reluctantly, is ^{Very partially enforced.} most obvious. Even his enemies are compelled to make admissions which destroy their general charges. Urged by his advisers, he declined to withdraw the ordinance, but swayed by the generous policy of his own heart, he refused to use it as an instrument of oppression.^o Notwithstanding the severity of the proclamation, and the fears it engendered, the Episcopalian enjoyed throughout his protectorate, no inconsiderable portion of liberty. The exceptions

^o Mr. Hallam who never spares Cromwell nor his government, advertizing to the present measure remarks, "It is somewhat bold in Anglican writers to complain, as they now and then do, of the persecution they suffered at this period, when we consider what had been the conduct of the bishops before, and what it was

afterwards. I do not know that any member of the Church of England was imprisoned under the Commonwealth, except for some political reason; certain it is, the gaols were not filled with them." Const. Hist. 2, 428, note. From so severe a judge, this is no mean praise.

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which are pleaded, were for the most part, the result of their own intemperate zeal. "The Protector," says Bishop Kennett, "was for liberty, and utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government; and, therefore, he was never jealous of any cause or sect, on account of heresy or falsehood; but on his wiser accounts, of political peace and quiet . . . And even the prejudice he had to the Episcopalian party, was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church."^p

Conference
at Whitehall
respecting the
Jews.

Dec. 12.

The catholicity of his views was strikingly shown at the close of this year, in the effort he made to admit the Jews to the benefits of a full toleration. The descendants of the patriarchs were yet regarded with deep hostility throughout Europe. Exposed for centuries to unparalleled indignities and wrongs, they were excluded from the pale of human sympathy, and treated as "the filth and off-scouring of all things." Cromwell was superior to the prejudices out of which their oppression had grown; and convened a meeting at Whitehall, to deliberate on the propriety of permitting them to settle and trade in England. Two judges, seven citizens of London, and several divines were present on the occasion, and the Protector pleaded their cause. "Since the conversion of the Jews was promised in

^p Complete Hist., 3, 206. Bates, P. 2, p. 192. Baxter, in his "True History of Councils," makes a statement adapted greatly to diminish sympathy with the Episcopilians of this period. "In the days of the usurper," he says, "I moved for a petition that when they granted liberty of conscience for so many others, they

would grant liberty for the full exercise of the Episcopal government to all that desired it. But the Episcopal party that I spake to, would not endure it, as knowing what bare liberty would be to their cause, unless they could have the sword to suppress those that yield not to their reasons." p. 131.

Scripture," he remarked, "he did not know but the preaching of the gospel in England, without idolatry or superstition, might conduce to it." The prejudices of his divines, and the selfish policy of the merchants, frustrated however his generous purpose; and the Jews continued a proscribed and outcast people.^q

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Cromwell now determined to convene another parliament. His elastic spirit yet trusted to secure a constitutional recognition of his authority; and the favorable condition of his affairs prompted him to make the trial. His chief difficulty arose from his former associates; but instead of being deterred by their hostility, he resolved to bind them to submission, or to secure the persons of their leaders. Bradshaw, Vane, Rich, and Ludlow were therefore summoned before his council; the first was ordered to be dismissed from his office of chief-justice of Chester, and the other three were required to give security. Ludlow reluctantly complied, but Vane and Rich refusing, the former was committed to Carisbrook Castle, and the latter to Windsor. About the same time, Harrison was sent to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, and several of the royalists were put under arrest.^r

Preparations
for another
parliament.

^q Whitelocke, 618. Godwin, 4, chap. 17. Orme's Owen, 121. Cromwell also distinguished himself during this year, by a prompt and vigorous interposition on behalf of the Protestant inhabitants of the Valleys of Piedmont, who were suffering deeply from the Duke of Savoy. For a detailed account of the Protector's negotiations, see Jones's Hist. of the Christian Church, 2, 353, et seq.

^r Ludlow, 2, 568—577. Thur-

loe, 5, 407. The occasion of Vane's being summoned before the Council, was the publication of a political treatise, entitled, "A Healing Question Propounded and Resolved," in which he enforced with great strength and clearness, his favorite doctrines of civil and religious liberty. This treatise is appended to Mr. Foster's Life of Sir Henry Vane, and throws much light on the views and policy of Vane and his republican coadjutors.

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XXII. his opponents, Cromwell met the Parliament on
— the seventeenth of September. Dr. Owen preached
on the occasion, from Isaiah xiv. 32, after which, the
members adjourned to the painted chamber, and
were addressed by the Protector in a long speech,
setting forth the unnatural coalition that had taken
place between the royalists and republicans ; the
benefits that had accrued from his government ;
his determination to reform existing abuses ; and
the tolerant principles on which he was resolved to
conduct ecclesiastical affairs. The difficulties of
his position are clearly traceable in his speech. He
bore up vigorously against the tide which was
threatening to engulf him ; but it was not in human
resolution to conceal the bitter disappointments he
had encountered. His position was one of unex-
ampled difficulty. Had he been the mere tyrant
painted by some, or the high-minded patriot de-
scribed by others, his course would have been clear
and easy ; but the complex elements of his char-
acter—the mingled light and shade which constituted
his political portraiture—imposed a tax on his genius
which no human resources could meet. Attached
to liberty, yet driven by one false step to play the
part of an usurper, his conduct was perpetually
falsifying his theory. His views were of the noblest
order, but his actions were too frequently debased
by the distempered passions of earth. Imposing
on himself the conviction that his power was essen-
tial to the welfare and liberties of the nation, he
refrained from no act, however arbitrary, by which
that power might be upheld. Other men would
have sunk in such circumstances, into the hard-

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Parliament.
Sept. 17, 1656.

hearted and relentless tyrant, but Cromwell's nobility of nature infused generous and redeeming elements into his usurpation. On the subject of religious liberty his views were clearly and forcibly expressed. "If men will profess," he says, "be they those under baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, and of the Presbyterian judgment, in the name of God encourage them, countenance them, while they do plainly hold forth to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences. . . . If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form ; if an Independent, for example, will despise him under baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptists shall be censuring the godly ministers of the nation, that profess under that of Independency ; or those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or evil speaking of them, traducing and censuring of them, as I would not be willing to see the day on which England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ, so I will not endure any to reproach them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things equal ; which, truly, I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had boxes and rebukes on one hand ; and on the other, some envying me for Presbytery, others, as an inletter to all the sects and heresies of the nation. I have borne my reproach, but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in preventing any one religion to impose upon

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XXII. another; and truly, must needs say, I speak it experimentally.”^s

THE PROTECTORATE. He avowed his determination to maintain the tithe system till a preferable mode of supporting the clergy was devised; and partially disclosed the policy by which he subsequently endeavored to build up the tottering edifice of his power. “We would keep up,” said the protector, “the nobility and gentry; and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them to be patronizers, nor countenancers of debauchery and disorder . . . Make it a shame to see men to be bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the nation; and by this be more repairers of breaches than anything in the world. Truely these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits, which are the men. The mind is the man: if that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast.”^t

Members excluded. On the conclusion of the protector’s speech the members repaired to their house, at the door of which officers were stationed, who refused admission to those who were not provided with a certificate from the Council. About one hundred members were thus excluded, among whom were the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Thomas Scott, and four of the London

^s Burton’s Diary, Intro. clxvii.

^t Burton’s Diary, Introd. cxlviii.—clxxix. The compilers of the Parliamentary History give no account of this speech, stating, they had not been able to meet with any copy of it, nor to discover

any trace of it in the journals, or in contemporaneous writers, 3, 1484. Mr. Rutt’s diligence, however, has supplied the chasm thus existing, and he is entitled to the best thanks of the historical student.

representatives.^u The excluded members addressed a letter to the speaker; and a remonstrance, severely inveighing against the tyranny of Cromwell was published in their name.^v They were referred to the Council, and the house proceeded to business. The members who had succeeded in obtaining certificates probably felt, that it would be premature to hazard a collision with the protector;—that they were not unmindful of their duties, nor unprepared for a vigorous assertion of their rights, were soon proved by their debates. Several committees were speedily appointed; and two bills, one for renouncing the title of the young prince, and the other for the personal safety of the protector, were rapidly passed through the house.^w

This parliament has rendered itself memorable by the disgraceful proceedings which were instituted Prosecution of James Naylor. against James Naylor, whose distempered enthusiasm had been productive of a species of insanity. Every well regulated mind must deplore the extravagances, of which he was guilty; but the course pursued towards him was characteristic of the worst passions of the age, and has left a blot on this parliament of the protectorate, which no wisdom, or diligence, or patriotism can efface. To confound the ravings of partial madness with the crime of blasphemy, and to visit them under this character with cruel mutilations and imprisonment, were to dis-

^u Whitelocke, 639.

^v The genuineness of the remonstrance has been questioned. It is not mentioned either by Ludlow, or by Clarendon; nor by some other contemporaneous writers, for whose silence it is difficult to account, on the supposi-

tion of its genuineness. Whitelocke, however, has printed it at length, with all the names that were appended to it. Memorials, 640. Parl. Hist. 3, 1485. Godwin, 4, 296.

^w Burton's Diary, Introd. exc. Whitelocke, 643.

CHAP. grace the Christian faith, and to forget the first
XXII. duties of humanity. To have commiserated and

THE PROTEC- relieved a deluded and pitiable man, would better
TORATE. have befitted the professed character of parliament,
 than to pass the barbarous sentence which its journals record.

His previous history. Naylor had been quarter-master in Lambert's troop of horse, and had served in the Scotch campaign, where his health became so impaired as to compel his retirement from the army. During this period he retained the respect of his commander, and was wholly free from the extravagances which distinguished his subsequent career.^x On returning home he associated himself with the Independent Church, at Horbery, in Yorkshire: but meeting with George Fox in the course of 1651, he adopted his tenets, and became a zealous member of the Society of Friends.^y In the following year he was imprisoned in Appleby gaol, but continued, after his release, to travel the country as an itinerant preacher of his new faith. His zeal increased with his sufferings, and to the fervor and mysticism of Fox, he superadded tenets of a more repulsive and alarming character. His judgment was evidently too weak to bear the excitement which his fanaticism engendered; and his extravagances consequently bordered on blasphemy. His opinions were a confused medley, borrowed from the various

^x In the course of the debate which occurred on his case, General Lambert expressed deep regret at the course Naylor had pursued; at the same time that he bore the following testimony to his former good conduct. "He was two years my quarter-master, and a very useful person. We

parted with him with very great regret. He was a man of very unblameable life and conversation, a member of a very sweet society of an Independent church." Burton's Diary, 1, 33.

^y State Trials, 1, 796. Fox's Journal, 1, 153.

sects which had sprung up during the convulsions of the civil war. They reflected the creed of no one party, but embraced whatever was extravagant and visionary in them all.^z In 1654, or the beginning of 1655, he visited London ; and the acceptance of his ministrations, and the absurd flattery of “some forward and inconsiderate women,” appear to have inflated his mind, and to have strengthened his self-confidence. His correspondents observed no bounds in the fulsome and extravagant epithets addressed to him. He was the Sun of Righteousness, the Prince of Peace, the only-begotten, the fairest among ten thousand.^a His heart was thus filled with preposterous conceptions of his official importance ; and he proceeded to the West to enact the part of an inspired teacher, in whom the Son of God dwelt in an especial manner. At Exeter, where he was again imprisoned, the adulation of his followers was shown in acts of outward reverence. They knelt before him, kissed his feet, and gave utterance to the ravings of a distempered enthusiasm. Being released from confinement, he journeyed towards Bristol, and entered the city in triumph, some going before him bareheaded, and others spreading handkerchiefs and scarfs in his path ; the whole com-

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^z It is uncandid to charge Naylor's extravagances upon the Society of Friends. This has been customary with our historical writers, and has arisen from their partial acquaintance with the views of these intrepid assertors of religious freedom. George Fox expostulated with Naylor on his conduct, and refused to receive his expressions of kindness, “since he had turned against the power of God.” Journal, 1, 377. “It

appeared,” says Sewell, “by letters the magistrates found in his pocket at Bristol, that the quakers found fault with him, and had reproved him of his highmindedness, before it launched out into that extravagant act which made so great a noise in the world, and hath been mixed with many untruths, and false terms.” Hist. of Quakers, 1, 179.

^a Sewel, 1, 180, 181.

CHAP. pany exclaiming, “Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of
XXII. — Hosts ; Hosannah in the Highest.” The whole city
THE PROTEC- was moved by the spectacle ; and the magistrates
TORATE. arrested the enthusiast.^b

Parliamentary proceed-
ings in his
case.

His case was brought before parliament, October 31st, 1656, and a committee was appointed to investigate the charges preferred against him, with power to send for Naylor, and to examine witnesses.^c The report of this committee, charging him with having permitted the names, attributes, and worship of the Saviour to be addressed to himself, was brought up on the fifth of December; when a debate protracted through several days took place, on the punishment that should be inflicted. All were agreed as to the heinousness of the offence, and the propriety of inflicting some exemplary chastisement. But a difference of opinion prevailed on the extent to which the punishment should go. Several of the members pleaded that nothing short of death would meet the necessity of the case, or adequately express the enormity of his crime. They adduced the treatment of blasphemy under the Mosaic dispensation, in support of their views; and in the extravagance of their zeal, appealed to the precedents of mahomedan and pagan history. Others, more enlightened and humane, pleaded the merciful character of the Christian system ; contended that the offence committed was not blasphemy ; and that most serious evils might follow from the course it was proposed to adopt. The members of Cromwell’s council were generally in favor of the milder course, and on a division whether the question of

^b Sewell, 1, 181.

^c Whitelocke, 643. Burton’s Diary, 1, 10.

capital punishment should be put, it was determined in the negative, by a majority of fourteen; the numbers being eighty-two to ninety-six.^e

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His sentence.

On the following day, it was resolved that, on the eighteenth, he should stand in the pillory at Westminster, for two hours, and be then whipped through the streets to the Royal Exchange. Two days afterwards, he was to undergo a similar punishment at the latter place, after which his tongue was to be bored through with a hot iron, and his forehead to be branded with the letter B. He was then to be conveyed to Bristol, where he was again to be whipped, and to be taken through the city on horseback with his face backward, after which he was to be committed to the London Bridewell, to be debarred from the society of his friends, and to be kept to hard labor without the use of pens, ink, and paper, until released by parliament. This barbarous sentence was literally executed, save that the second part of it was deferred, in consequence of Naylor's illness, from the twentieth to the twenty-seventh.^f The annals of bigotry

^e Burton's Diary, 1, 152.

^f State Trials, 1, 796—303. Burton's Diary, Vol. I. Burton furnishes the fullest report of the debates on this melancholy and disgraceful case. He was present Dec. 27th, at the Royal Exchange, when Naylor underwent the worst part of his sentence, and gives the following account of his deportment:—"This day B. and I were to see Naylor's tongue bored through, and him marked on the forehead. He put out his tongue very willingly, but shranked a little when the iron came upon his forehead.

He was pale when he came out of the pillory, but high-coloured after tongue boring. He was bound with a cord by both arms to the pillory. Rich, the mad merchant, sat bare at Naylor's feet all the time. Sometimes he sang and cried, and stroked his hair and face, and kissed his hand, and sucked the fire out of his forehead. Naylor embraced his executioner, and behaved himself very handsomely and patiently. A great crowd of people there; the sheriff present, *cum multis*, at the Old Exchange, near the conduit."—Diary, 1, 265.

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XXII. cannot furnish a more atrocious judgment, nor one better adapted to awaken the detestation of posterity.

^{THE}
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TORATE. Naylor lived to repent his extravagances, and with deep humility, to seek divine forgiveness. The mercy he was refused on earth, he obtained in heaven; and his last years were spent in acts of piety which bitterly reproach his persecutors.^h

^h During the latter part of his imprisonment, Naylor obtained the use of pens and paper, and wrote several letters to his friends, condemning his former proceedings. After his release, he published several papers, expressive of his deep sorrow. In one of these, the following ingenuous acknowledgment occurs. "Condemned for ever be all those false worships with which any have idolized my person in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above. All their casting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings and all the rest of those wild actions which did any ways tend to dis honour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh, which is as grass, or to ascribe that to the visible, which belongs to Christ Jesus; all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blasphemed through me, in the time of temptation; or the spirits of any people grieved, that truly love the Lord Jesus, throughout the whole world, of what sort soever. This offence, I confess, which hath been sorrow of heart, that the enemy of man's peace in Christ, should get this advantage in the night of my trial, to stir up wrath and offences in the creation of God; a thing the simplicity of my heart did not intend, the Lord knows; who in his endless love hath given me power over it to condemn it.

And also that letter which was sent me to Exeter, by John Stranger, when I was in prison, with these words, 'thy name shall be no more James Naylor, but Jesus,' this I judge to be written from the imaginations, and a fear struck me when I first saw it, and so I put it in my pocket close, not intending any should see it; which they finding on me spread it abroad, which the simplicity of my heart never owned. And all those ranting wild spirits, which there gathered about me, in that time of darkness; and all their wild actions and wicked words, against the honour of God, and his pure spirit and people. I deny that bad spirit, the power and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil spirit in any to arise, I take shame to myself justly, having formerly had power over that spirit, in judgment and discerning, wherever it was; which darkness came over me through want of watchfulness and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous spirit. So the adversary got advantage, who ceases not to seek to devour; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all my mercies had not rescued me, I had perished; for I was as one appointed to death and destruc-

“ This is certain,” says Sewel, “ that James Naylor came to very great sorrow and deep humiliation of mind ; and therefore, because God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, so could James Naylor’s friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the lost sheep into their society. He having afterwards obtained his liberty, behaved himself as became a Christian, honest and blameless in conversation ; and patiently bore the reproach of his former crimes.”ⁱ He did not long survive his sufferings. Being released on the reinstatement of the Rump parliament, he expired on his way to Yorkshire, whither he was journeying on foot to rejoin his wife and children. His last moments were strikingly illustrative of the benign and cheering influences of Christianity.^j

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tion, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confess, that God may be justified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end ; who did not forsake his captive in the night, even when his spirit was daily provoked and grieved ; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly, and offence in that day, yet were there many things formed against me in that day to take away my life, and bring scandal upon the truth, of which I am not guilty at all ; as that accusation, as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from Exeter prison, and also those who were with me at Bristol, the night before I suffered there, of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me in that day both in thought and deed as

to all women, as a child, God is my record. And this I mention in particular (hearing of some who still cease not to reproach therewith God’s truth and people,) that the mouth of enmity might be shut from evil speaking ; though this toucheth not my conscience.”

ⁱ Sewell, 1, 199.

^j Bishop Kennett says he died “with no fruits, nor so much as signs, of repentance.”—Hist. of England, 3, 201. How far this was from being the case, may be learnt from the following words which he uttered in the presence of several witnesses an hour or two before his death. “ There is a spirit, which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature

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Petitions
against the
quakers.

During the discussion on Naylor's case, petitions were presented to the house, from Devonshire, Northumberland, Durham, Newcastle, Cheshire, Bristol, and Cornwall, against the quakers, whose proceedings were now regarded with great alarm.^k Their peculiar tenets were not an unnatural growth of the excitement of the age; and the zeal with which they were propagated, led to many acts of indiscretion of which their enemies did not fail to take advantage. "It is high time" said Chief Justice Glynn, "to take a course with them. They daily disturb our courts of justice; several indictments against them; their persons and pamphlets daily pestering of us. I was, in my private opinion, against punishing old offences with a new punishment, and am also for tender consciences. But those that openly profess against the ministry, and ordinances, and magistracy too, it is fit they should be taken a course withal; for they grow to a great number." Whitelocke spoke to the same effect, and Major-General Skippon, who had been one of the most zealous in advocating the infliction of death on Naylor, remarked in strange ignorance of the nature of religious liberty, "I am for tender

contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other; if it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone, it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It

is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but in sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken. I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate plains in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal holy life."—Sewell, 1, 207.

^k Burton's Diary, 1, 168.

consciences as much as any man; but it is one thing to hold an opinion, another thing to hold forth an opinion. If a man be a Turk or a Jew, I care not, so he do not openly hold it forth." Several members complained of the rapid and alarming increase of the sect, and predicted the speedy overthrow of all existing institutions unless some preventive measures were devised. "They will overturn all laws and government," said Major Brooke, "unless you timeously strengthen the banks. They meet in thousands in our county (Cheshire), and certainly will overrun all, both ministers and magistrates. Ere long, it will be too late to make a law." Other members advocated a more enlightened policy, but were compelled by the strength of their opponents to express themselves with cautious reserve. They pleaded the evils incident to the course proposed, and urged a reference of the petitions to a committee. "You will not find," said Strickland, "in all your statute books a definition of quakers and blasphemy. Other States never do it, further than as disturbers of the peace. We know how laws against papists were turned against the honestest men. We may all, in after ages, be called quakers. It is a word nobody understands. I would have it left to your committee to consider of the heads of the petitions, and represent them to you, and then you may make a law against them. But we all know the edge of former laws against papists has been turned upon the best protestants, the truest professors of religion, the honest puritan, as they called him, a good profession, but hard to be understood, as this word quaker will be in after ages." The petitions were

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XXII. finally referred to the committee which had cogni-
zance of Naylor's case, who were to report to the
house on the heads of a bill for the prevention of
the mischief that was apprehended.¹

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Causes of the hostility entertained towards them.

The strong feelings entertained against the quakers arose from various causes. Their doctrines were inimical to the interests of influential classes, and were indirectly subversive of many of the institutions of the state. They attached themselves to none of the political parties of the day, but denounced with equal severity, what they deemed the pride and worldly-mindedness of all. Springing from the enthusiasm of the age, they sought to divest religion of its worldly trappings, to disengage its disciples from the thraldom of forms and ceremony, and to build up the inner man of righteousness and truth, on the ruins of all which had hitherto been deemed conducive to the growth of piety. They attempted to refine and spiritualize religion beyond the capabilities of man's nature; and in their solicitude to advance his good despised the means which were essential to success. They were at once contemplative and active,—seeking the advancement of religion in the solitary exercises of the heart, yet zealously bent on the propagation of their distinctive tenets. It was their calamity to be misunderstood by the men of their day; and their spirits, chafed by oppression, were sometimes guilty of indiscretions which afforded an excuse to their persecutors. These indiscretions have been magnified by prejudiced historians, and are yet retailed by the industrious malice of party.

¹ Burton's Diary, 1, 169—173.

They were in the habit of addressing religious assemblies at the close of the service, and were sometimes impelled by a misguided zeal to interrupt and reproach the minister. The anecdotes which are recorded sound strange to modern ears, but they were not so foreign from the habits of the day as to call for, or to justify, the measures which were adopted. The sufferings of the quakers were great beyond all parallel, and constitute the disgrace of the commonwealth.^m In the condemnation of their oppressors, however, it would be uncandid to forget

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^m Had Cromwell been permitted to carry out his views, the quakers would have escaped much of their sufferings. George Fox had several interviews with him, and always spoke with characteristic freedom and boldness. Referring to the design of making Cromwell king, Fox says, “ I was moved to go to him, and warned him against it, and of diverse dangers ; which if he did not avoid, I told him, he would bring a shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity. He seemed to take well what I said to him, and thanked me.” Journal, 1, 476. On another occasion, says Sewel, “ When he came near Hyde Park, he saw the protector coming in his coach : whereupon he road up to the coach side, and some of his life-guard would have put him away, but the protector forbade them. Then riding by his coach side, he spoke to him of the sufferings of his friends, and the nation, and showed him how contrary this persecution was to Christ, and his apostles, and to Christianity. And when they were come to the gate of St. James’s Park, G. Fox left Cromwell, who at parting, desired him to come to his house. The next day, Mary Sanders, afterwards

Stout, one of Cromwell’s wife’s maids, came to G. Fox’s lodgings, and told him that her master coming home, said he would tell her some good news ; and when she asked him what it was, he told her that G. Fox was come to town ; to which she replied, that was good news indeed. Not long after, G. Fox, and Edward Pyot went to White-hall, and there spoke to Cromwell, concerning the sufferings of their friends, and directed him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. To which Cromwell said, that was a natural light ; but they showed him the contrary, saying, that it was divine, and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the Spiritual, and heavenly man. Moreover, G. Fox bid the protector lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus, and as he was standing by the table, Cromwell came and sat upon the table’s side by him, and said he would be as high as G. Fox was. But though he continued to speak in a light manner, yet afterwards was so serious, that when he came to his wife and other company, he said that he never parted so from the quakers before.” Sewell, 1, 210.

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XXII. — the questionable form in which their principles first
— appeared, the extravagances with which they were
THE PROTEC- occasionally associated, and the uncharitable and
TORATE. sweeping condemnation they passed on all other re-
ligionists. It is not in human nature to bear with
meekness, the severe, and in many cases undeserved,
reproofs which they administered.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Plot to assassinate Cromwell—He seeks to be made King—The humble Petition and Advice—Apprehended disaffection of the Army—Petition of the Officers—Urged by Parliament to accept the Crown—Desborough and Fleetwood opposed to his compliance—He declines it—Made Lord Protector—Preparations for a second House—Refractory temper of the Commons—Parliament dissolved—Cromwell appeals to the Army and City—Royalist plots---Nature of Congregationalism ---Meeting of Independents at the Savoy---Their ecclesiastical views.

IN the beginning of the year a plot for the assassination of the protector was discovered, which was near having taken effect. The persons most actively concerned in it, were Colonel Sexby, and Miles Syndercombe, who had been quarter-master in Monk's army. The latter, with two accomplices, were seized on the day fixed for the execution of Jan. 8, 1657, the scheme, and being tried for treason, was found guilty, and ordered to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. His execution was to have taken place on the 14th of February, but having committed suicide on the previous day, his body was interred in Tower Hill, according to the barbarous forms then prescribed in such cases. Both Sexby and

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Plot to assassinate Cromwell.

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XXIII. Syndercombe had been republicans, but their hostility to the protector's government, had induced them to become agents of the exiled royalists.^a

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He seeks to
be made king.

This abortive scheme probably decided Cromwell on the policy he now adopted. From the dissolution of the long parliament, he had evidently aimed at the sovereignty, and had, at length, substantially acquired it. Still the magical name of king was wanting, and while this was the case, his ambition was unsatisfied. Nor were there wanting powerful reasons to induce him to seek its attainment. If a republic were not to be established, if power were to settle in the hands of one man, as it had practically done for some years past; then it was argued,—and it is difficult to refute the reasoning,—that it would be better to invest the protector with the prerogatives ceded by the ancient constitution to its monarch. The limit of his power would thus be better ascertained; he would move in a known and prescribed orbit; would be restrained by the old landmarks of the constitution; and might hope to gather round his throne, the hereditary loyalty of a brave people. A protectorate was an unknown and impalpable power; it was foreign from the prepossessions of the nation; it might be popular or arbitrary, the agent of freedom or the engine of despotism. These arguments were urged by the friends of Cromwell, and their force was admitted by many of the leading statesmen of the day. He himself was clearly intent on being made king. He had tried a usurpation under a popular name, and his strong sense could not fail to per-

^a Whitelocke, 644, 645. Burton's Diary, 1, 332, 354. Thurloe, 5, 774—777.

ceive that the scheme had failed. Dissatisfaction was prevalent; his life was perpetually assailed; and the condition of the nation was unsatisfactory and fluctuating. Having discarded his republican faith, he found no safety in the medium position he had assumed. By this false step, he divested the struggle of its high and ennobling character; and was now compelled by the necessity of the case, to attempt to seize the sceptre which he had smitten from the hands of a Stuart. Still it was necessary to proceed with caution. No man was more fully aware of this than Cromwell himself; and his emissaries consequently performed his bidding, while he remained unseen. On the 20th of February, the members dined with Cromwell at Whitehall, and were entertained with “rare music, both of instruments and voices.” Three days afterwards, Sir Christopher Pack, one of the members for London, and an alderman of the City, after advert- ing to the unsettled state of the nation, and the desirableness of coming to some final settlement, presented to the House, a paper entitled “The humble Address and Remonstrance of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, now assembled in the Parliament of the Commonwealth;” and moved that the same should be taken into consideration. This was agreed to by a large majority, and Friday, the 27th, was set apart as a day for religious exercises, to seek Divine direction on the grave consultations which impended.^b

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^b Burton's Diary, 1, 377—379. “Friday, February 27. The parliament kept a fast within their house, where Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, carried on the work

of the day, it being by way of preparation to the great business of a settlement now under debate.” —Merecurius Politicus, No. 351.

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TORATE.

The humble
petition and
advice.

The propositions of Pack were discussed seriatim, and his paper was ultimately adopted, in an amended form March 26th, under the title of "The humble Petition and Advice." This celebrated bill consisted of a series of articles designed to effect a momentous revolution in the machinery of government. Cromwell was to be invested with the title of king; an upper house, consisting of not more than seventy, nor less than forty, was to be constituted; parliaments were to be called triennially, and such as were chosen to sit in them, were not to be excluded, "but by judgment and consent of the House whereof they are members." The protestant religion was to be the public profession of the nation, and all—with the exception of prelatists and catholics—who acknowledged the doctrine of the trinity, and the inspiration of the scriptures, were to be protected in their religious exercises, and to be deemed capable of any "civil trust, employment, or promotion." The question of kingship was reserved to the last. Many spoke strongly, or as it was phrased in the court language of the day, "bitterly" against it; but it was resolved, March 25, by a majority of 123 to 62, that the following clause should form part of the petition. "That your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, style, title, dignity, and office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to exercise the same, according to the laws of these nations."^c Thus had this extraordinary man forced his way to the throne. Its unoccupied seat now invited his

ascent, and his long cherished purpose to fill it, was enforced by the prayer of parliament. The visions of successful ambition floated before him, and his strong mind exulted in the prospective glory of the dynasty he was about to establish.

But Cromwell's ambitious scheming was not unopposed. He had succeeded in bringing round the parliament to his views; but there was another power whose concurrence was equally necessary, and his hold on which was greatly endangered by his present course. The army had been the instrument of his advance to power. They had zealously seconded his views, and had enabled him to triumph over his enemies at Westminster. Their devotion to his person was well known, and the dread of their military prowess had been his tower of strength. But what would be the sentiments of these brave men, when their republican general—the man in whom their generous confidence reposed, as the personification of their faith, and the vindicator of their rights; who had directed their enthusiasm against monarchy, as incompatible with civil freedom; who had preached up the equality of men, and the necessary corruption of courts; was found to abandon this faith, and to appropriate to himself the honors he denied to others? These were questions which Cromwell could not fail to put to himself; and his sagacious mind was too well acquainted with his former companions, hastily to conclude that they would acquiesce in his designs. He knew them to be honest and zealous, and trembled lest they should take up a resolve unfriendly to his schemes. It was a perilous position which he occupied. Within reach of the object of his ambition, he was in dan-

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TORATE.

Apprehended
disaffection of
the army.

**CHAP.
XXII.** ger of being deserted by the power which had raised him to his present elevation. The slightest indiscretion might have been his ruin ; the premature development, though but of an hour, of his policy, might have precipitated his fall, and given to his numerous enemies the season of revenge for which they prayed. Cromwell knew this and acted accordingly. He masked his purpose with consummate skill, and sought to throw on the necessity of the case, the odium which would attend his decision.

Petition of a
hundred offi-
cers.

The views of the army were not long undisclosed. On the 27th of February, the day on which the parliament kept a fast, one hundred officers waited on Cromwell with an address, entreating him not to accept the title of king. They urged that his doing so would be displeasing to the army, an offence to all pious people, and matter of rejoicing to his enemies ; that it would be hazardous to his own person, be of great danger to the empire, and tend to prepare the way for the return of the exiled family. Cromwell reproached them for their inconsistency in now opposing his assumption of a title which, as he alleged, they had proffered him in their "Instrument of Government," in December, 1653.^d He affirmed that he cared nothing for the title, that it was but a feather in a man's cap, a rattle with which it was wise to indulge children ; that he had been the mere drudge of the army, and that it was "time to come to a settlement, and lay aside arbitrary proceedings, so unacceptable to the

^d "This curious fact of secret history," as Mr. Rutt designates it, is countenanced by Ludlow, who informs us, in his account of the consultations of the officers,

in December, 1653, respecting the rank and title of their General, that "some were said to have moved that it (the title) might be king." Memoirs, 2, 477.

nation." The result of the conference confirms the accounts which are handed down, of the singular power of Cromwell over his contemporaries. There were few men, like Vane and Ludlow, who could resist the magic of his personal address. There was a charm about his speech,—not that of rounded periods and softened language—but what sprang from the deep feeling and commanding genius of the man. The inconsistencies of his procedure were forgotten in the fervor and apparent sincerity of his protestations. "The officers," says a letter writer of the period, after detailing this conference, "are quieted, and many are fallen from the rest."^e Cromwell had so far triumphed, but he felt his ground to be insecure, and continued therefore to wear the mask. His decision was evidently formed, but he waited the propitious moment to declare it.

In the meantime, the parliament earnestly pressed their bill. On the 31st of March they attended the Protector at Whitehall, when the Speaker enlarged on their "Petition and Advice," and earnestly solicited his compliance with the same. Cromwell replied in an evasive speech, urging the difficulties which beset him, and entreating that he might have some short time to ask counsel of God, and of his own heart.^f A committee was subsequently appointed at his request, to wait on him, to whom he reiterated in general language, the fact of his entertaining some scruples, adverse to a compliance with their wishes; insinuating at the same time, such commendations of their measure as were suited to flatter their pride, and to render them more

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XXIII.THE
PROTEC-
TORATE.Urged by par-
liament to
accept the
crown.^e Burton's Diary, 1, 382—384.^f Ibid, 1, 397.

CHAP. tenacious in adhering to it.^g On receiving the
 XXIII. report of their committee, the House determined by
 THE a majority of 78 to 65, to adhere to their petition,
 PROTEC- and three days afterwards passed a resolution, de-
 TORATE. claratory of the fact ; “ and to put his highness in
 April 7. mind of the great obligation which rested upon him,
 and again to desire his assent.”^h This was notified
 to the Protector on the following day, who replied in
 less decided language than he had previously em-
 ployed, requesting to be informed of the reasons
 which had induced the House to persevere, and ex-
 pressive of a hope that these would serve to remove
 his remaining hesitancy, and to enable him with
 a good conscience, to accede to their prayer. A
 committee was accordingly appointed on the ninth,
 “ to receive from his highness his doubts and scrup-
 les, touching any of the particulars contained in
 the Humble Petition and Advice, formerly pre-
 sented ; and in answer thereunto, to offer reasons
 for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the
 resolutions of the House.”ⁱ Several meetings took
 place between this Committee and the Protector,
 the latter deferring from day to day, his final deci-
 sion. At length his mind appeared to be made up,
 and his affirmative reply was confidently expected ;
 but just at this critical moment circumstances trans-
 pired which reversed his decision, and wholly
 changed the aspect of affairs.

Desborough
and Fleet-
wood opposed
to his com-
pliance.

Among the officers of the army, Lambert, Des-
 brough, and Fleetwood were the most powerful.
 The last two were related to Cromwell ; the former
 having married his sister, and the latter his

^g Burton's Diary, 1, 416, 417.

^h Ibid., 421, 422.

ⁱ Parl. Hist., 3, 1495. Burton's

Diary, 2, 1.

daughter. Desirous of ascertaining their views on the pending negociation, he invited himself to dine with Desborough, and took Fleetwood along with him. The interview did not answer his expectations, for the soldiers of the Commonwealth, more intent on the public cause, than on the aggrandizement of their families, assured him that those who counselled his acceptance of the crown, were no enemies to Charles Stuart, and that his compliance with their advice, would inevitably ruin both himself and his friends. Unaltered in his purpose, he told them they were “a couple of scrupulous fellows;” and on the following day appointed to meet the parliament in the painted chamber on the seventh, “designing,” says Ludlow, “as all men believed, there to declare his acceptance of the crown.” Immediately after this appointment, he met Desborough in St. James’s Park, and frankly avowed the decision he had formed. Desborough unhesitatingly replied, that his family and the good cause for which they had fought, were in that case ruined ; that his own determination was formed ;—he would not act against his brother-in-law, but neither would he yield his government any support. On returning home, Desborough found Colonel Pride waiting for him, to whom he communicated what had passed. “He shall not,” said Pride, with his characteristic decision : and in reply to an inquiry how it could be hindered, answered, “Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it.” For this purpose they repaired to Dr. Owen, whom they persuaded to aid their design. In the meantime, as if to insure the success of his opponents,

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PROTEC-
TORATE.

May 5.

CHAP. Cromwell had determined to defer his answer to
XXIII. the parliament till the eighth.

**THE
PROTEC-
TATE.** On the morning of that day it was notified to the Commons, that several officers were in attendance with a petition which they were desirous of presenting to the House. A resolution was instantly taken, that they should be called in; and the petition which Owen had drawn up, was presented at the bar by Lieutenant Colonel Mason. "It is difficult," says Ludlow, "to determine whether the House or Cromwell was more surprised at this unexpected address; but certainly, both were infinitely disturbed at it." The Protector was instantly informed of what was taking place, and saw it was useless to struggle any longer. Without the army he was powerless; and the demonstration now made, proved that its fidelity was not to be relied on.

**Cromwell de-
clines the title
of King.** He at once summoned the parliament to Whitehall, apologized for the trouble he had given, assured them that he had seriously reflected on their proposals, was satisfied that their scheme was in the main a good one, but that he was constrained on a review of all circumstances, to decline the honor they proffered.^j "The Protector was satisfied,"

^j Ludlow, 2, 583—591. Parl. Hist. 3, 1500. Secretary Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, then in Ireland, under date of May 12th, refers to the events which had just transpired, in the following manner. "We have been a long time between hopes and fears about one great business; his Highness hath been pleased to put an issue to it at last, having upon Friday last called the Parliament into the banqueting house, and there

declared that he could not give his consent to their advice, because of the title *King*. I perceive this hath struck a great damp upon the spirits of some, and much raised and elevated others. His Highness was pleased upon the Wednesday and Thursday before, to declare to several of the House, that he was resolved to accept it with that title; but just in the very nick of time he took other resolutions; the three great men professing

says Whitelocke, “in his private judgment, that it was fit for him to take upon him the title of king, and matters were prepared in order thereunto; but afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth men, and fearing a meeting and defection of a great part of the army in case he should assume that title and office, he changed his mind.”^k

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TORATE.

In consequence of Cromwell’s decision, the title of Lord Protector was substituted for that of king, and the Petition and Advice, with a few minor alterations received his formal assent on the 25th of May.^l The government of Cromwell now assumed a more legal form than it had hitherto worn. His installation in December, 1653, was the act of the military, whose power overshadowed the civil authorities: but the present measure invested him with some appearance of legality, which he was compelled to accept in lieu of the more splendid prize he had sought. His title, indeed, was still defective, since the parliament which bestowed it was not a free assembly. One hundred of its members had been excluded by himself, and the dread of his displeasure had prevented their protest from obtaining the attention it claimed. Still it was something gained, when resolutions, confirmatory of his power, and providing

their great unfreedom to act, and said that, immediately after his acceptance thereof, they must withdraw from all public employment, and so they believed would several other officers of quality, that had been engaged all along in their war. Besides, the very morning the House expected his Highness would have come to have given his consent to the bill,

some twenty-six or twenty-seven officers came with a petition to the parliament, to desire them not to press his Highness any further about kingship. . . . It is hard to guess what will be done next.” Thurloe, 6, 281.

^k Memorials, 646.^l Whitelocke, 660. Burton’s Diary, 2, 123.

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for the perpetuation of his government, received the sanction of those who remained. Cromwell acquiesced in the settlement, and the friends of liberty rejoiced in the limitations to which his authority had been subjected. His installation took place with great ceremony and pomp, on the 26th of June, and the parliament adjourned to the 28th of the following January.^m

*Preparations
for constitut-
ing a second
House.*

During the adjournment, Cromwell employed himself in endeavouring to gain over some of the nobility whom he wished to incorporate in the second house, which he was empowered by the Petition and Advice to form. It was his policy to unite the more liberal peers with the most distinguished of those who had lately risen to eminence, and thus to provide a counterpoise to the Commons. His efforts met with but little success. The pride of an ancient aristocracy shrunk from association with the men of a day. Even the Earl of Warwick, who was personally attached to Cromwell, and whose grandson had married one of his daughters, refused a seat in his new house, contemptuously referring to the menial origin of some of the men with whom he would be required to act.ⁿ All the ancient peers, excepting Lord Eure, declined his summons, and Sir Arthur Haselrig, as in bitter scorn, took his seat among the Commons.^o

Whatever expectations the protector entertained,

^m Parl. Hist., 3, 1514. Burton's Diary, 2, 309. On the last day of their session, the parliament passed an Act against Popish recusants, which rivalled the worst enactments of a former and more bigotted

age. Several of the members spoke strongly against it, but it was finally carried by a majority of 88 to 43. Burton's Diary, 2, 148—154, 310.

ⁿ Ludlow, 2, 596.

^o Ibid., 596, 597.

were speedily destroyed on the meeting of the two houses. The excluded members took their seat by virtue of the third article of the Petition and Advice, and naturally ranged themselves with the opponents of the court. New vigor was thus infused into the opposition. Their language became bolder, a tone of defiance mingled in their debates, they attempted to deny the legislative functions of the upper house, and did not abstain from some oblique, but sufficiently intelligible reflections, on the authority of Cromwell himself. “The difficulty proves great,” says Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, December the first, “between those who are fit and not willing to serve, and those who are willing, and expect it, and are not fit.”^p Such is the inevitable consequence of a policy like that of Cromwell. Independent and honest men stand aside, and refuse the honors which are proffered; while others, who have neither character nor talents, demand as the price of their service, a share in the spoils to be gathered. The forces of his parliamentary opponents were greatly strengthened by the return of the excluded members, while the firmest of his own adherents were removed to the upper house. The protector watched the debates with intense solicitude, and at length endeavored to stem the torrent by summoning the two houses to meet him at Whitehall, where he insisted, with more than his usual earnestness, on the dangers which beset the nation, the embittered enmities which divided the people, and the irreparable ruin which would befall them if they

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XXIII.THE
PROTEC-
TORATE.Refractory
temper of the
commons.

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XXIII.** did not rally round the existing government. — “Pretend what you will,” said Cromwell “if we run into another flood of blood and war, the sinews of this nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly.”^q His speech failed of its designed effect. The commons returned to their house only to renew with increased vehemence their alarming discussions. Under the protection of the new instrument of government, they sought to retaliate their own injuries, and to inflict a mortal blow on the usurpation. Cromwell, however, was not to be outdone in resolution. He was the last man in the kingdom to quail before any human power. He knew and could trust himself. The whirlwind and the tempest which terrified others, only aroused his masculine mind. He rose with the occasion however perilous, and instinct with the elements of greatness, achieved his own salvation. Never had his position been more alarming, than at the present moment. The discussions in parliament became more threatening every hour ; and royalist and republican conspiracies were known to be afloat. Goaded by this concurrence of adverse circumstances, Cromwell again resolved on a dissolution. He would thus gain time, and might delude himself with the hope that the splendor of his foreign administration, and the general integrity of his domestic policy, would yet subdue the pertinacity of his foes.

Parliament
dissolved,
Feb. 4, 1658.

His resolution was instantly carried into effect. On the fourth of February, while the commons were engaged in discussing the title and functions

^q Burton's Diary, 2, 351.

of the lords, the usher of the black rod summoned them to meet the protector in the upper house. His speech on the occasion was reproachful and criminatory. He laid open, without reserve, the schemes of the two parties, into which his enemies were divided; rebuked the commons for questioning the authority under which they acted; and charged some of their number with having transferred their services to Charles Stuart. “If this be the end of your sitting,” he concluded, “and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting, and I do dissolve this parliament; and let God judge between me and you.” “Amen” was the ominous response of many of the members.^r

Cromwell now appealed to the army—his old associates, and still his surest friends. A few of the officers refused to pledge themselves, and were cashiered; but a large majority concurred in a

^r Parl. Hist., 3, 1525—1527. Fleetwood endeavored to dissuade Cromwell from dissolving the house, but says Ludlow, “he clapped his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God he would do it”—Memoirs, 2, 599. He had in fact no alternative, if his government, or even his life was to be preserved. This is clearly shown by a letter preserved among the papers of Pell, Cromwell’s agent to the Swiss protestant cantons. The writer of the letter was Samuel Hartlib, a Pole of estimable character, then resident in England. “Believe me, Sir,” he says to Pell, “it was of such necessity, that, if the session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood, both in city and coun-

try, upon Charles Stuart’s account. An army of ten thousand might have appeared with an ugly petition to the parliament for the re-establishing this person, presuming they should find a party favorable to their views in that assembly. Another army of ten thousand men was at the same time preparing to land in England, by the juggling (to say no worse) of our good neighbours on the continent. Besides, there was another petition set on foot in the city, for a commonwealth, which would have gathered like a snow-ball. But, by the resolute, sudden dissolving of the parliament, both these dangerous designs were mercifully prevented.—Godwin, 4, 493.

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resolution, engaging to stand by the protector, and to invoke on his behalf, “gracious and mighty assistance in the further prosecution of the great work which the divine majesty had called him unto.” He summoned also the lord mayor and common council of London to Whitehall; and informing them of the plots which were afloat, exhorted them to be prepared for the prompt suppression of any tumults which might occur.⁵ The utmost vigilance was necessary to guard against the numerous conspiracies that were now directed against his person and government. The royalists and the fifth-monarchy men, though acting on different principles, and aiming at an entirely opposite result, were equally bent on his destruction. Several of the latter were seized, on the evening previous to the day, when their design was to have been executed. They were mostly tradesmen, deluded by the enthusiasm of the age, into a belief “of extraordinary assistance from heaven;” and being committed to prison, were exempted from further punishment. The protector evinced a singular and honorable disinclination to shed the blood of his former companions. He did homage to their integrity, though he had apostatized from their faith; and contented himself therefore with countermining their schemes.

Royalist
plots.

His feelings were different towards the royalists, and he consequently resolved, on the discovery of a new and formidable conspiracy, to bring some of them to trial. A secret committee, known as “the sealed knot,” had existed for some time in London, who

⁵ Parl. Hist., 3, 1528.

corresponded with Charles, and directed the movements of the subordinate members of the royalist body. The utmost precaution had been observed to conceal themselves from the protector, but having succeeded in gaining over Sir Richard Willis one of their number, he was thoroughly acquainted with all their proceedings and plans.^t Several of the royalists were apprehended and committed to the tower, "until," says Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, "there can be some effectual provision made against their attempts for the future, that we may not be continually at this pass with them every year."^u Dr. Hewet an episcopal divine, Sir Henry Slingsby an aged catholic gentleman, and Mr. Mordaunt a brother of the Earl of Peterborough, were brought to trial before a high court of justice, constituted under an Act passed in the late parliament, for the security of the protector's person. The first two were convicted of high treason and beheaded, but the last

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^t A remarkable instance of the accuracy of Cromwell's information is related, which shows how almost impossible it was to escape his vigilance. The Marquis of Ormond had visited London in the January of this year, to ascertain from personal observation, the state of parties, with a view of determining the course that should be pursued. Cromwell was aware of his presence, and tracked him from place to place. Having at length satisfied himself of the object of his visit, and learnt who were his accomplices, he took the following singular and magnanimous mode of inducing him to depart. "An old friend of yours is just come to town," said Cromwell, in a light and

jocular strain, to Lord Broghill. The latter inquired "Who?" and Cromwell replied, "The Marquis of Ormond." Broghill instantly protested his ignorance of the fact, which Cromwell as readily admitted. "I know that very well," he said, "but he lodges in such a place; and if you have a mind to save your old acquaintance, let him know that I am informed where he is, and what he is doing." There was no thirsting for blood in the heart of Cromwell. He never took the life of an enemy, but from a conviction of absolute necessity, and in the present case, was satisfied with having discovered the secret of his opponent. Godwin, 4, 507.

^u Thurloe's State Papers, 7, 84.

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XXIII. escaped through the address of his accomplished
— and beautiful wife, who pleaded privately with his
THE
PROTEC- judges, and bribed the principal witness against him
TORATE. to abscond. A section of the royalist conspiracy in
June 8. London, was permitted to proceed with their ar-
rangements up to the very day when their insur-
rection was to take place. Cromwell, however,
was well informed of their proceedings, and on
the fifteeenth of May, caused their ringleaders
to be apprehended at the Mermaid in Cheap-
side. The train bands were at the same time
called out, and Colonel Barkstead the lieute-
nant of the Tower, advanced into the city, with
five small pieces of artillery.^v By these prompt
measures, the projected rising was prevented. So
long as Cromwell lived, the vigilance and energy
of his character, bore down all opposition. He had
his eye in every place, and like a skilful general,
knew the precise moment when his power could be
exerted with most effect. Seven of the conspirators
were brought to trial, of whom six were convicted;
but three only were permitted to undergo the sen-
tence of the law. Clarendon, with all the recent
atrocities of the restoration before him,—atrocities
in which he took an active part—endeavors to
found, on these executions, an odious charge against
the government of Cromwell. “All men,” he says,
“appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired
with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell
thought it best to pardon the rest who were con-
demned, or rather to reprieve them.”^w The noble
historian, for very shame, should have abstained

^v Thurloe, 7, 147.

^w Hist. of Rebel., 7, 253.

from this pitiful attempt to fasten upon the protectorate, a charge which applies with so much greater force against his own administration. The world has never seen so enduring and merciful a usurpation, as that of Cromwell's. It was only as a last resort, and in absolute despair of milder measures, that the protector touched the life of his most embittered and revengeful foe.

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The Independents had now greatly increased in various parts of the country, and their numbers and influence rendered them desirous of consulting on matters of common interest. No confession of their faith had hitherto been published, to which their writers could appeal in disproof of the misrepresentations of opponents; and the efforts made by their churches were enfeebled by the want of a wide and diffusive system of co-operation. The tendency of congregationalism to isolate its members from each other, and thus to check the flow of Christian sympathy, and to diminish the moral force of the church universal, has been frequently adduced by opponents in proof of its unfitness to become the instrument of the conversion of the world. Could the tendency thus alleged be shown to be inherent in the system, there would be force in the reasoning founded on it: but the whole history of the congregational churches of this country is a refutation of the assumption. An extreme sensitiveness has sometimes led individuals to discountenance the efforts which have been made to unite in closer fellowship, and for all purposes of common interest, the churches scattered throughout the kingdom. Such combinations, it has been urged, would be too large for any practical purpose, and

Nature of
Congrega-
tionalism.

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XXIII. would be in danger of arrogating an authority, in-
— compatible with the independence of individual
THE PROTEC- TORATE. churches. Similar associations, however, on a more contracted scale, have been formed in almost every county of the kingdom ; and those objects, which, from their very nature preclude the danger apprehended, have found no difficulty in combining whole bodies in their support. The history of modern missions is conclusive on this point ; while the recent formation of the Congregational and Baptist Unions,—with their constitution so well defined, and their specific province so cautiously marked out—establishes beyond reasonable doubt, the compatibility of the system, with the largest and most catholic association which the interests of the church can at any time require. Isolated, as the members of the two leading sections of the congregational body may appear to a superficial observer, there is more absolute agreement and unity pervading them, than can be discerned in either of the established churches of the empire.

Meeting of
Independents
at the Savoy.

Convinced of their essential unity, and desirous of setting forth their faith for the information of others, the leading members of the Independent body made application to Cromwell, in the summer of 1658, for permission to convene a meeting of the representatives of their churches. The protector, with some degree of reluctance, consented to their request ; and a circular letter was accordingly addressed to the Churches of England and Wales, inviting them to send messengers to a meeting to be held at the Savoy, on the 29th September. About one hundred churches complied with the invitation ; but others hesitated to do so, from an apprehension

that some political design was veiled under the project. Their meetings were commenced with fasting and prayer: after which they proceeded to debate whether they should adopt the doctrinal articles of the Westminster Assembly, or draw up a new confession of their own, founded upon and deviating as little as possible from the other. The latter course was finally adopted, and a committee consisting of Drs. Goodwin and Owen, Messrs. Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, was appointed to prepare the heads of agreement. The result of their labors was reported daily to the brethren, and with an extraordinary degree of unanimity was adopted by them. The whole was published under the title of “A declaration of the Faith and Order, owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England; agreed upon, and consented to, by their Elders and Messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658.” On all doctrinal points the Savoy confession agrees substantially with that of Westminster; but those parts of the latter are omitted, which treat of the power of synods, church censures, marriage, divorce, and the authority of the magistrate in matters purely religious.

The views maintained on the constitution of the Christian church, are precisely those still held by the whole body of congregationalists. Each particular church is said to be invested immediately by Christ, with “all that power and authority, which is any way needful for their carrying on that order and discipline which he has instituted for them;” and it is affirmed that, “there is not in-

Their ecclesiastical views.

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XXIII. catholic, entrusted with power for the administra-
THE PROTEC- tion of his ordinances, or the execution of any
TORATE. authority in his name." The members of the
churches of Christ are described as "saints by
effectual calling, visibly manifested by their pro-
fession and walking;" and "no person," it is main-
tained, "ought to be added to the church, but by
its own consent; that so love, without dissimula-
tion may be preserved among all the members."
Each member is declared to be amenable only to
the particular church to which he belongs; while
an association of churches is represented as answer-
ing an important end in the economy of christian
means. "In cases of difficulties or differences," it
is observed, "either in point of doctrines or admini-
strations, wherein either the churches in general
are concerned, or any one church, in its peace,
union, and edification; or any member or members
of any church are injured, by any proceeding in
censures not agreeable to truth and order; it is
according to the mind of Christ, that many churches
holding communion together, do, by their messen-
gers, meet in synod or council, to consider *and give*
their advice about that matter, to be reported to all
the churches concerned: howbeit, these synods so
assembled, *are not entrusted with any church power,*
properly so called, or with any *jurisdiction over the*
churches themselves, to exercise any censures either
over any churches or persons, or to impose their de-
termination on the churches or officers."

The doctrine of toleration, though not in its
fullest and only consistent form, is explicitly

avowed. Its range is limited to those who retain “the foundations of faith and holiness”—a suspicious expression, which finds its comment in the proceedings which had been recently instituted against Biddle and Naylor. Some parts, however, of the preface to the confession, approach nearer to the more enlightened views at present entertained ; and convey the impression that the members of the assembly were gradually, and to themselves imperceptibly, feeling their way to the simple but comprehensive principle, that every variety and form of religious faith, the heretical equally with the orthodox, is entitled to claim exemption from penalties and disabilities. It is a noble declaration which the brethren make, “ That all professing Christians with their errors, that are purely spiritual, and intrench, and overthrow not civil society, are to be borne with, and permitted to enjoy all ordinances and privileges, according to their light, as fully as any of their brethren who pretend to the greatest orthodoxy.”^x The declaration was presented to Richard Cromwell, by Dr. Goodwin, in the name, and by the appointment of his brethren ; and the speech which he delivered on the occasion is scarcely to be reconciled with the statements of the document committed to his charge.^y

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^x Neal, 4, 172—178. Orme’s Owen, 175—183. Conder’s Analytical View, 383. Richard Baxter was extremely incensed against the leading Independents for convening this meeting. His heart was set on uniting the two bodies of presbyterians and independents, and he feared the tendency of the Savoy meeting to frustrate this purpose. His criti-

cisms on the Confession are unworthy of his candor and good sense, while the reflections thrown out on individuals, savor little of the better spirit by which he was ordinarily guided. Life, P. 1, p. 104.

^y Goodwin speaks of the gospel as a “ national endowment,” and represents himself and brethren as regarding the magistrate “ as

CHAPTER XXIV.

Cromwell's last illness and death—His character—Religious profession—Protectorate of Richard—General review of the State of Ecclesiastical affairs—Partial establishment of presbyterianism—Possession of Church livings by Congregationalists—Character of the religion of the Commonwealth.

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Cromwell's
last illness
and death.

CROMWELL did not survive to witness the meeting of the Savoy convention. His health had been impaired for some time, and the signs of approaching dissolution were now painfully visible. His disorder was at first deemed trifling, and was expected to yield to the remedies which were adopted. But the constitution of the protector was too debilitated to rally ; and the measures to which his physicians resorted, instead of affording him relief, only hastened the progress of his disorder. A domestic calamity accelerated the crisis. The lady Claypole, his favorite daughter, on whom he had at-

custos utriusque tabulae." "And so" he adds, referring to the declaration "we commit it to your trust, as our chief magistrate, to countenance and propagate." Mr. Orme pertinently remarks, "Part of this address I do not understand, and the rest of it I disapprove. What he means by the gospel being a national endow-

ment, I know not; and as to the magistrate being the keeper of both tables of the law, I can only say, it must be understood in a very qualified sense, otherwise it would convey an idea, not only dangerous in itself, but in opposition to the avowed belief of the framers of the document presented." Life of Owen, p. 183.

tended with unwearied assiduity, and a truly parental disregard of his own health, expired on the sixth of August. Cromwell—the most tender of fathers—was deeply affected by this occurrence. “He grew melancholy,” says Ludlow, “and dis-tempered with diverse infirmities.”^a It was not the least singular trait in the character of this remarkable man, that he blended the most endearing qualities which give loveliness and peace to the domestic circle, with those sterner attributes which made contending factions and ancient monarchies tremble at his frown. For a time he was disconsolate, and his disorder assumed a threatening aspect. A favorable change, however, occurred, and his friends began to calculate on his recovery. “Blessed be God,” writes Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 17th of August, “he is now reasonably recovered, and this day he went abroad for an hour, and finds himself much refreshed by it, so that this recovery of his highness doth much allay the sorrow for my Lady Elizabeth’s death.”^b This exultation was but short-lived. The disease was fatal, and its termination speedily approached. On the 21st, it assumed the character of a tertian ague; and he was removed to Whitehall under the advice of his physicians. During the following week considerable hope was entertained, but it was speedily apparent that his case was desperate. The protector himself was for a time buoyed up with the expectation of recovery. In common with many of his contemporaries, he was a firm believer in the special efficacy of prayer, and the sincerity of his

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TORATE.^a Memoirs, 2, 609.^b Thurloe, 7, 320.

CHAP. **XXIV.** faith was evinced in his present trying circumstances. Observing the despondent countenance of one of his physicians, he asked "Why he looked so sad?" and then taking his wife by the hand, added, "I tell you, I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it." His incredulous attendant was silent, when the deluded protector reading his thoughts continued, "Don't think that I am mad—I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commune and greater intimacy with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me, as you would do with a serving man."^c His hope of recovery, however, was ultimately abandoned. He felt himself to be a mortal, dying man; and his deportment has been variously represented. The accounts possessed of his last moments are furnished by hostile pens, and must be received with caution. One thing is evident,—he died with composure, in the solemn recognition of his responsibility, and in the utterance of fervent prayer for his people.^d "He manifested,"

^c Bates, P. 2, 234. This account of the s^tate physician is supported by a letter from Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, dated August 24th, in which he says, "His highness bath had very great discoveries of the Lord to him, in his sickness, and hath had some assurances of his being restored, and made further serviceable in this work: this latter is secretly kept, therefore, I shall desire it may not go further than your own breast; but I think there is that in this experience,

that may truly be worthy of your further knowledge." Thurloe, 7, 355.

^d On the evening of the second of September, the day preceding his death, the following supplication was uttered by the protector, "Lord, although I am a wretched and miserable creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will come unto thee for my people: Thou hast made me a mean instrument to do them some good, and the service; and many of them have set too high a

says Ludlow, "so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the public cause, and sacrificing it to his ambition, that some of his last words, were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation, that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people, whom he had manifestly despised."^e

value upon me, though others wish, and would be glad of my death ; but, Lord, however thou shalt dispose of me, continue, and go on to do good for them ; give them consistency of judgment, mutual love, and one heart ; go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world ; teach those who look too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm ; for they are thy people too, and pardon the folly of this short prayer, for Jesus Christ, his sake, and give us a good night of it, for thy pleasure." Cromwell's Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, &c., 2, 366.

^e Memoirs, 2, 612. Sir Philip Warwick's account of Cromwell's last illness is manifestly unworthy of credit. The frenzied speeches and prayers attributed to his chaplains, by Echard, and similar writers, are gross caricatures, unworthy of a place in any work pretending to historical fidelity. The language of Dr. Goodwin, reported by Ludlow, and improved on by subsequent writers, is fairly susceptible of an interpretation, against which no valid objection can be urged. Thurlloe's letter to Henry Cromwell proves that there was a period of the protector's illness, when his disorder was thought to have yielded to the remedies which had been employed. Only let it

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be supposed that it was at this period,—and there is nothing against the supposition,—that the prayer referred to was uttered, and what is there in the following sentence to call for the pious horror which has been expressed :—
"Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted, and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." It requires but little caudor and fair-dealing to interpret Goodwin's language by the light which is thus incidentally obtained. The danger was believed to be passed, and speedy restoration to health was therefore implored. Dr. Owen was charged with similar language ; but his brief and conclusive reply was "*Mentitur impudentissime*, for I saw him not, in his sickness, nor in some long time before." Owen's Works, 21, 566. South's sermons abound in slanders of this kind, of which the following may be taken as a specimen :—"A noted independent divine, when Cromwell was sick, of which sickness he died, declared that God had revealed to him, that he should recover, and live thirty years longer, for that God had raised him up for a work which could not be done in less time. But Oliver's death being published two days after, the said divine publicly in prayer expostulated with God on the defeat of his prophecy, in these words : *Lord, thou hast lied unto us : yea, thou hast lied unto us.*" Vol. I., p. 65.

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His charac-
ter.

Of the character of Cromwell, it is difficult to speak with impartiality. The least prejudiced student of his history is in danger of being biassed, according as his prepossessions are in favor or otherwise, of the protector's general policy. Few men have suffered more from the indiscriminate judgments which have been passed on their conduct. By the one party, whose intrigues he unravelled, and whose power he crushed, he has been represented as destitute of a single virtue,—a monstrous combination of the worst qualities of which our limited nature admits. By the other, whom he rescued from oppression, and invested with civil rights, the memory of his virtues has been fondly cherished, while the vices of his career have been forgotten or denied. The representations of the former class have been most widely received. Amid the delirium of the restoration, the memory of the protector was blackened by every charge which unprincipled and revengeful partizans could invent. The same mean spirit which invaded the solitude of his tomb, painted him as an incarnation of evil, permitted for a season to scourge a race of sacrilegious rebels. From the frenzied passions of that period we are now happily escaped. A more impartial tribunal has been formed, and the extenuating circumstances which bear on his character are permitted to be urged. It would be beside our province to enter largely into the topics which the question of Cromwell's character opens up. A few remarks are all that can be hazarded.

His morality. His moral character, understanding the term in its ordinary acceptation, was irreproachable. Vice

was discountenanced by his example, and men of probity were advanced to offices of honor and trust. The strictest propriety of manners was observed at his court, and any man would have been sure of instant banishment thence, who violated in action or word, the decencies of life or the obligations of morality. He was an affectionate son, a faithful husband, and an attached father. Those who saw him only at the head of his army, or on occasions of public state, had no knowledge of the protector. He could be sportive as a child, and in his hours of gaiety and mirth was as free apparently from care, as the youngest and the most thoughtless around him. He had a singular power of fascinating others ;—few men were proof against him, when he sought to win their confidence. He could look into the innermost recesses of their heart, and by the discovery of their master passion, possess himself of the secret of their character.

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Cromwell commenced his public life as a religious man ; nor is there the slightest ground for suspecting the sincerity of the profession he then made. How far this profession was sustained in after years, is another question, and cannot readily be determined. Facts must be sifted, the nature of his circumstances must be taken into account, the whole complexion and tenor of his life must be looked at, before an impartial judgment can be formed. No character in English history is enwrapt in deeper mystery, or constitutes a problem more difficult to be solved. There is a basis of truth in what a bitter enemy alleges, “ that he had two assistant spirits, a *good* and a *bad* ; and that when he knocked his

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breast, poured out his prayers, sighs, and tears, promising all things that were good, he was actuated by his good genius, but when, by lying and fallacies, he carried on his cheats, his wicked and traitorous designs, then was he prompted by his bad genius."^f Viewed under certain aspects, he was a man of large and catholic spirit, of fervent piety, of an enthusiasm chastened and rectified, free from earthly alloy, and ennobled by the elements of heaven. But when the eye turns to other and equally palpable features of his conduct, a different spectacle is witnessed. There is the craft and the selfishness, and the insatiable ambition of a worldly man ; there is a proud consciousness of superiority, trampling on the rights of others, and violating, apparently without compunction, its own most solemn vows. How to reconcile these two features of Cromwell's character, has perplexed all candid men. To resolve his religious profession into hypocrisy, is a poor and pitiful effort of party spleen, equally destitute of historical truth, and of philosophical discrimination. His whole life, and the records of his last hours, clearly establish the sincerity of his profession. Nor are the facts of the case to be accounted for more satisfactorily, on the plea of enthusiasm, advanced by many. It is not in the nature of this passion, considered in its morbid aspects,—and under such only it can be urged in the present case,—to produce the effects which his life exhibited. His views were too enlarged, his spirit was too tolerant, and his religious profession,—

^f Bates, P. 2, 240.

excepting only that part of his conduct which ambition shaped—was too uniformly sustained, to allow of its being resolved into any such cause. We must look further into the elements of human nature, and the character of the influences to which he was subjected, satisfactorily to explain the phenomena in question.

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If the sincerity of his early religious profession be admitted, it will be easy to account for all which followed. The weakness of human nature, its instability and tendency to evil, is an adequate solution of the problem. It might have been predicted without any claim to inspiration, that in his sudden rise from obscurity to power, from a Captain of horse to the Lord Protector of three kingdoms, the integrity of his religious principles would be shaken, and his character be greatly injured. Few men have been placed in circumstances so fraught with temptation, or which constituted so severe a test of character. The danger was greatly increased by the peculiar aspect of his times. At a calmer period, when the institutions of society were settled, and the gradations of rank better ascertained, the ambition of the General would have been restrained within prescribed and more honorable limits. The recognized usages of the community would have imposed a salutary check upon the vigor and undauntedness of his genius. But it was his infelicity to live in times when everything was unsettled and precarious. The public mind was thoroughly restless, a passion for change was dominant, and new theories of government were advocated by men of preeminent ability and spotless honor. Cromwell, the offspring and incarnation of his times,

CHAP. **XXIV.** felt within himself the ability to regenerate the Commonwealth; and in his pursuit of so noble an object, did not nicely discriminate between the means to be employed. It has been common with English historians to represent him as an ambitious and unscrupulous intriguer from the first; but there is no warrant for the theory. His ambition was the growth of prosperity; it sprung up and strengthened as his preeminent ability was evinced; and was nurtured to maturity by the unhappy contests to which the intolerance of the presbyterians gave rise. For the most part, the ambition of Cromwell was of a high and noble order. His policy was directed to the welfare of his country, and was designed to secure her a first rank among the nations of the earth. It is easy to charge the Protector with a base and inveterate selfishness; to represent him as intent only on his own and his family's aggrandizement, as sacrificing at the impulse of a malignant passion the obligations of duty, and the interests of dependent millions. But when his history is narrowly surveyed, it will be seen that up to the time of the battle of Worcester, his unconstitutional employment of military force, had much to plead in its justification. The cause for which he had struggled, and which his genius had carried to so triumphant an issue, was threatened with destruction. Was the General to stand silently by, while the presbyterian majority of the parliament extinguished the hope of religious liberty, and re-forged the fetters which his brave troops had broken? Was he to achieve the salvation of others, to release their conscience from slavery, to open for them a way to the altar of their God, and yet to

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relinquish on behalf of himself and his associates, a claim to similar immunities? Possessed of the power to prevent this profanation of the ark, was he to permit, on the ground of constitutional scruples, its sanctity to be invaded, and its healthful influences to be circumscribed within the limits of a sect? History records the evils which flowed from his decision, and it is, therefore, easy to condemn it; but let impartial men place themselves in Cromwell's position, with his principles and his power, and then let them say whether they would not have acted as he did.

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It is not so easy to vindicate his subsequent measures. The change which passed on him at the field of Worcester, has already been noticed.^g The royalists were then broken, the parliament was dependent on his will, the nation was thoroughly dissatisfied with the government of the Commonwealth, and Cromwell elated by success and confident in his own resources and integrity, aimed at supreme power, as the means of consolidating the empire, and of securing to distant times, the inestimable blessings of civil and religious freedom. He was persuaded—honestly and thoroughly persuaded—that there was no other man in the empire capable of controlling the unruly elements that were abroad, or of forming out of the unshapen mass around him, an enlightened, virtuous, and free nation. Such was his faith, and his decision corresponded to it. Throwing from him his repub-

^g Hugh Peters was with the army at Worcester, and accompanied Cromwell to London. Observing the alteration in the Ge-

neral's manners, he remarked at the time to a friend, that he would aim to make himself king.—Ludlow, 2, 447.

CHAP. lican creed, he determined on being king ; and a
XXIV. course of consummate dissimulation was the conse-

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TORATE. quence. He had to work with a republican army,
and in the face of religious enthusiasts who esteem-
ed an advance to monarchy as nothing less than a
return to Egypt. Their early hostility warned him
of the mine on which he trod, and which a single
spark would have sufficed to explode. This first false
step involved many others. His personal safety,
and the interests of all that were dear to him,
became identified with the maintenance of his
power. One act of tyranny was therefore followed
by another, till the general of the parliament, the
champion of popular rights, stood out before the
eye of Europe, in the unvarnished character of a
military usurper. No man felt more deeply than
Cromwell, the failure of his repeated efforts to har-
monise his government, with the prepossessions
and constitutional machinery of the nation. Had
his life been prolonged, there is reason to believe
that a marked change would have taken place in
his administration. What would have been its
character and worth, it is now impossible to ascer-
tain ; but the measures that were adopted with a
view to the summoning of another parliament, can
be reconciled with his acknowledged sagacity, only
on the supposition that he had resolved to forego
his ineffectual struggle, and honestly to coincide
with the national representatives.

How far his religious character was impaired,
during the latter period of his life, is a question,
respecting which, very different opinions may be
advanced with almost equal plausibility. That his
actions were frequently criminal, cannot be denied,

that his standard of morals must have been lowered is equally indisputable, but how far the necessities of his condition, and the bewildering influences of enthusiasm extenuate his guilt, no mortal can determine. It is impossible honestly to deny the vices of his career; they were notorious and palpable. Unscrupulous ambition, impenetrable craft, and something which it is difficult to distinguish from lying, were among the prominent features of his policy. So far, judgment must be given against the protector, and it is natural to ask, could personal religion consist with qualities like these?—could the pure faith of the Son of God exist in the same mind as retained these fruits of darkness? That it could not do so, in a healthful and influential state is obvious,—that it might have done so, in a debilitated and partial condition, is, what his character taken as a whole, and viewed in relation to the passions and circumstances of his age, lead us to conclude.^b

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Much of his conduct which is usually attributed to ambition, sprang from the desire of personal preservation. His worst, as well as his best actions, are capable of being viewed under a twofold aspect, and hence the mystery which enwraps his charac-

^b Professor Rogers, in his admirable Life of John Howe,—a work not more distinguished by freedom from party bias, than by an enlightened spirit of philosophy—has discussed at considerable length, the question of Cromwell's religious character, and pronounces an opinion strongly unfavorable to it. While approving much of his reasoning,—and no

Christian man can fail to do so—I cannot entirely acquiesce in his conclusion. Sufficient allowance, I think, is not made for the unparalleled difficulties of the protector's position, difficulties of such a nature, as left no alternative but to do as he did, or to involve the nation in anarchy, and to consign himself to a violent and ignominious death.

CHAP. ter. "Both piety and ambition," says Baxter, no friend to Cromwell, "concurred in his countenancing of all that he thought godly of what sect soever." **XXIV.** **THE PROTECTORATE.** Piety pleaded for them as godly, and charity as men; and ambition secretly telleth him what use he might make of them. He meaneth well in all this at the beginning, and thinketh he doth all for the safety of the godly, and the public good; but not without an eye to himself."ⁱ

The Protectorate of Richard Cromwell.

The death of Cromwell revealed the insecure basis on which his government had been founded. His son Richard, whom he nominated as his successor, was immediately proclaimed; and received from various parts of the country, addresses expressive of the satisfaction with which his accession was viewed. Several of these addresses were couched in language little creditable to those who presented them. "The late protector," said one, "had been a Moses to lead God's people out of the land of Egypt; his son would be a Joshua to conduct them into a more full possession of truth and righteousness. Elijah had been taken into heaven: Elisha remained on earth, the inheritor of his mantle and spirit."^j Richard was a young man of correct morals, and of mild disposition. He had hitherto taken but little part in the management of public affairs; and was constitutionally disqualified to contend with the difficulties of his position. The cares which had so severely taxed the masculine powers of his father, would speedily have crushed the feebler energies of the son. As the events of his brief protectorate sustain no direct relation to our

ⁱ Life, P. 1, p. 98.

^j Lingard, XI., 366.

history, we shall not attempt to trace them. It will be sufficient to record, that having convened a parliament on the 27th of January, 1659, he shortly afterwards dissolved it at the dictation of the army. The republican members of the long parliament were then invited by the officers to re-assemble; but a dispute speedily occurring between them and their masters, they were dismissed with violence and contempt. In the meantime, Richard had resigned his authority, and the nation was rent into various factions. The master-spirit was gone, and his system of government died with him. In the grave of Cromwell were interred all the hopes which his early career had awakened, and which his own heart cherished—though with ever diminishing brightness—to the last hour of life. Wearied with perpetual change, the nation at length sighed for repose, and in despair of otherwise obtaining it, invited the return of the exiled prince. The presbyterians were foremost in promoting this event; and, for a time, were deluded with the hope of a monarch's protection and gratitude. From the hour of Cromwell's death, the restoration of the Stuarts was fixed:—the perfidy of Monk determined its time and character. It was needful, in the moral discipline of the nation, that another and bitter lesson should be received, before the people were prepared for the due exercise and improvement of their constitutional rights. They had slighted the noblest opportunity which had ever been enjoyed, of establishing their liberties on an imperishable basis; and were to learn their folly and guilt, under the heartless and debasing tyranny which ensued.

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Partial Esta-
blishment of
presbyterian-
ism.

Of the state of religion during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, little remains to be said. The facts bearing on it, have appeared in the course of our narrative, and may be left to speak for themselves. A few remarks, however, on its general aspect, and on the condition of ecclesiastical affairs, may appropriately close our labors.

The division of the popular party into different religious sects, prevented the entire ascendancy of either. Presbyterianism preferred a claim to the patronage which episcopacy had lost; and the number of its adherents, their moral weight, and general respectability, supported its pretensions. There was no other party to contest the prize. The independents could not consistently with their principles, and the minor sects were too inconsiderable to urge a claim, even had they been disposed to do so. All consented to the establishment of presbytery, on the one condition of liberty of worship being guaranteed to others. This, however, was refused, in a tone of arrogant dictation which left no alternative to the friends of religious freedom; and their whole strength was consequently put forth to prevent an absolute power from being vested in the presbyterians. Hence it resulted that the establishment of this system was limited and partial, circumscribed in its province, and destitute of coercive authority. It was more nominal than real, a homage to the necessity of the times, rather than a free will offering, on the part of the community. "The presbyterian discipline, and synodical government," says Mr. Hallam, "were very partially introduced; and upon the whole, the church, during the suspension of the ancient laws,

was rather an assemblage of congregations, than a compact body, having little more unity than resulted from their common dependency on the temporal magistrate. In the time of Cromwell, who favored the independent sectaries, some of that denomination obtained livings; but very few, I believe, comparatively, who had not received either episcopal or presbyterian ordination. The right of private patronage to benefices, and that of tithes, though continually menaced by the more violent party, subsisted without alteration.”^k

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The anomalous condition of ecclesiastical affairs, led to the possession of church livings, by a few independent and baptist ministers. The fact is notorious, and cannot be reconciled with the principles of the parties in question. Independency is founded on the voluntary character of religion. This is the element in which it lives and moves and has its being. It is its universal and all-pervading attribute,—the simple but majestic doctrine which it lisped in its infancy, and the distinct enunciation of which constitutes the glory of its manhood. It is therefore matter of surprise, that any congregationalists should so far have forgotten what was due to their own consistency, as to have received the constrained support of their people. The violation of their principles in this case, was as real as in the more palpable forms sometimes assumed by the coercive principle when it has dictated the modes of religious worship, and punished the slightest departure from an established creed and ritual. To compel others

Possession of
church livings
by congrega-
tionalists.^k Const. Hist., 2, 427.

CHAP. to support religion, is to admit the seminal principle
XXIV. of persecution ; while it subjects the recipients of
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TORYATE. such tribute to a host of noxious influences, from
which no personal excellencies can wholly protect
them. Nor can the consistency of the parties in
question be defended on the ground that, though
they occupied the edifices, and received the stipend
allotted by the state, they did not regard themselves
as parochial ministers. The churches which they
formed, approximated, it is true, more nearly to the
congregational than to any other model ; but there
were incongruous elements in their constitution,
which, had time permitted, could not fail to have
produced the most lamentable results. Like the
image of Nebuchadnezzar, the system was partly
gold and partly clay, imposing and beautiful, it
may be to the eye, but destined speedily to become
“like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor.”
Milton’s keen vision detected and exposed the in-
consistency. “Independency and state hire in
religion,” he remarks, “can never consist long or
certainly together. For magistrates, at one time or
other, will pay none but such, whom by their com-
mittees of examination, they find conformable to
their interests and opinions. And hirelings will
soon frame themselves to that interest, and those
opinions which they see best pleasing to their pay-
masters : and to seem right themselves, will force
others as to the truth.”¹

¹ The inconsistency was more apparent than real, in some cases. The independent or baptist minister, consented to occupy the vacant pulpit of a parish, but threw himself entirely on the

voluntary support of the people. This appears to have been the case with John Goodwin, who replied in the following language to a violent attack upon his character by the celebrated Prynne. “ I

The course of events happily corrected the evil, which now stands on record, a warning to the religionists of all succeeding times, against the danger which surrounds them, when the smile of the magistrate brightens their path. Great as are the obligations under which the Congregationalists were placed to Cromwell, his favor involved them in some manifest inconsistencies, and has subjected their principles to suspicion and reproach. "When any party of Christians," says Mr. Orme, "becomes exclusively the object of state favor, it immediately operates as a bounty on that profession. Every man who wishes or hopes to rise, has an inducement to enrol himself under its banners. There will be a visible increase of number and respectability, but a proportionate decrease of piety and purity. The Independents never were the object of this exclusive patronage; but, in so far as that profession was considered, during the Commonwealth, to be more acceptable to the ruling powers than any other, it must have derived injury rather than benefit from the circumstance. It induced some of those volatile and unprincipled spirits, which always float in the current

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am charged with receiving their tythes," my answer is, that I demand no tythes of any of them, nor ever had any right to do it. Nor have I ever received any thing from them in the nature of tythes, but as their voluntary contribution. The parsonage is inappropriate in the parishioners' hands; the vicarage is only endowed with eleven pounds per annum. For the last half year, I have received little above twenty pounds, excepting one half of the yearly rent of a small house, let sometimes but for twelve pounds, (and) never for above fourteen

pounds a year. Out of which sum, twelve pounds ten shillings, being deducted for the rent of my house, the remainder is of as low a proportion as envy herself can desire, for the maintenance of a minister, his wife, and seven children, in such an expensive place, as this city. If Mr. Prynne knew how small a proportion of subsistence I receive, and what my labour and pains are, I verily believe, that, instead of upbraiding me with "receiving tythes," he would pity me that I receive no more."—Jackson's Life of Goodwin, p. 68.

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of state favor, to hoist the colors of Independency, but which they pulled down, the first change of wind that occurred. Such adventurers, whatever be their rank, add no real strength to the effective force of a Christian community ; and their dispersion is a blessing rather than a punishment."^m

State of reli-
gion.

On passing from the ecclesiastical, to what may more properly be termed the religious state of the nation during this period, great difficulty is experienced from the delicate nature of the investigation, and from the discordant representations which have been handed down. The religion of the Commonwealth has been prejudiced by the two-fold relation which it sustained. It was the profession of republicans, and the opponent and conqueror of episcopacy. Its short reign was followed by the return of the Stuarts, when unparalleled licentiousness found its appropriate occupation in caricaturing the manners, and ridiculing the piety of the men of the Commonwealth. The poet and the statesman, the infidel and the court clergy, were equally intent on attaching the charge of hypocrisy, brutishness, and gothic ignorance, to the times which had gone by. The confusion of Babel, the licentiousness of Munster, the hypocritical grimaces and heartless formalism of the ancient Pharisees, were represented as having found their resurrection under the rule of the military usurper. For a time, these representations prevailed, but their force is now spent, and we regard them only as the splenetic effusions of party zeal, or of a yet deeper hostility to spiritual religion.

On the other hand, it must not be hastily con-

^m Orme's Owen, p. 189.

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cluded that the religion of the commonwealth was at once deep and universal,—a common sentiment pervading all classes, and constituting the national character. An impression of this kind is prevalent in some quarters, but it is wholly unfounded. The virtues of such men as Baxter, Owen, Howe, and Philip Henry, must not, even in imagination be transferred to their countrymen at large. The delusion wherever it exists, may be corrected by reflecting on the events which accompanied and followed the restoration. There must have been a radical unsoundness in the great body of the community, to permit the rapid deterioration which then took place.

The facts of the case admit of an easy solution from a principle which ordinarily regulates human conduct. There is a fashion in everything, and its power for a time is omnipotent. During the Commonwealth, religion was in vogue ; it was the profession of Cromwell and his court, and passed thence through the several grades of society, till it reached the extremities of the empire. The example of the Protector, and of those in authority about him, put vice to the blush, and compelled licentiousness to hide in holes and corners. The number of faithful and zealous ministers was also multiplied beyond all precedent, and the habits of the day permitted their exercising a searching scrutiny into the manners and character of their people. Hence, the profession of religion was widely extended, though in many cases its power was unknown. The men of sincerity were those whom the cavaliers termed hypocrites,—the hypocrites were such as became royalists at the

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XXIV. restoration. It does not, however, admit of reasonable doubt, that the strength and prevalence of religion during the period in question, was far greater than at any former age. The religious principle had taken a firmer hold of the public mind, and was actively and efficiently influencing a greater number of individuals. It put on a vital living form; moved on the surface of the waters like the spirit of God in olden times, and called forth from the inner recesses of the heart, aspirations and resolves more elevated and firm than are commonly met with on earth.

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The frequency and length of religious services,—usually referred to by men destitute of piety as proofs of hypocrisy—were the natural growth of the temper of the times. There was an enthusiasm prevalent through all ranks. In some, it was an ennobling; in others, a debasing passion. It tinctured the loyalty of the cavalier, and the religion of the puritan. It led the one to pledge his fortune and life for the service of an exiled and worthless prince; and the other, to prolong beyond the ordinary power of human endurance, the wrapt contemplations and fervent exercises of his religious hours. In either case it broke up the monotony of life, formed a specific character, and claims to be judged of by laws peculiar to itself. To contend, because such services would be wearisome and unprofitable to ourselves, that they must have been so to the men of that day, is to forget the high wrought temperament they brought to the engagement, and the tax that was perpetually laid upon their faith. John Howe was no enthusiast, but a man of cool temperament, and of sound understanding, who

was likely above most men to adapt his measures to the capabilities and improvement of his people ; yet the following is the account which Calamy gives of his manner of conducting the public fasts.

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“ I shan’t easily forget the account he once gave me in private conversation, of the great pains he took among them, without any help or assistance on the public fasts, which in those days returned pretty frequently, and were generally kept with very great solemnity. He told me it was upon those occasions his common way, to begin about nine in the morning, with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a blessing on the work of the day ; and afterwards read and expounded a chapter or psalm, in which he spent about three quarters ; then prayed for about an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for about half an hour. After this he retired, and took some little refreshment for about a quarter of an hour, or more (the people singing all the while), and then came again into the pulpit, and prayed for another hour, and gave them another sermon of about an hour’s length ; and so concluded the service of the day, at about four of the clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer.”ⁿ

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ⁿ Calamy’s Life of Howe, p. 14. The prudence and desirability of such protracted services, is quite another question from the sincerity of the *religious* men who engaged in them, and the improvement they ministered to such. On the former point I perfectly agree with Professor Rogers, in the following remarks :— “ Ardent as was the piety of thousands of those times, there can be no doubt that to the severe, uninviting, and exaggerated

forms of devotion to which it gave rise, is to be attributed not a little of the licentiousness, and irreligion of the succeeding reign. The youth, be it recollect, of the commonwealth, were men in the reign of the second Charles, and were likely to take revenge for the constrained austerity in which their childhood was passed, by a more insolent license when they became their own masters.

“ We may rest assured that

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Calamy speaks of the “inexpressible weariness” of such services. To the men of his day they may have been so, for much of the fervor and enthusiasm of the commonwealth had then evaporated. A reaction had taken place, the deadly consequences of which sets in favorable contrast the piety of his fathers.

On the whole it may be concluded, notwithstanding the strange and grotesque appearances of the age, that there was a vigor and manliness, a concentrated depth of feeling in its religion, analogous to that which nerved the early martyrs of our faith, and emboldened the heralds of the reformation. Each of these periods have features in common. They partook of the same excellences and defects, they awoke similar hopes and fears. Each had its visionary enthusiasts, as well as its bright exemplars of every human virtue. The following statement of Baxter, on comparing the times of the restoration with those of the commonwealth, may appropriately close our review. No man had a greater dread of the multiplication of sects or condemned more strongly the extravagances of the age; yet his calm verdict is scarcely less favorable than that of other men, whose assumed delinquencies he never spared. “I know in these times,” he says, “you may meet with men that confidently affirm,

many a little puritan who had been tutored into precocious gravity, and unnatural decorum under the grim discipline of his austere elders, was loudest in laugh and song, and wildest in folly and dissipation, when the violent constraint under which he had acted was removed. The transformation which passed on

his outward man, when the closely-cropped hair expanded into fashionable luxuriance, and the plain, stiff, and closely-fitted dress was exchanged for ruffles and embroidery, was not more striking than that transformation of mind, of which indeed it was the expression and the index.” Life of Howe, p. 39.

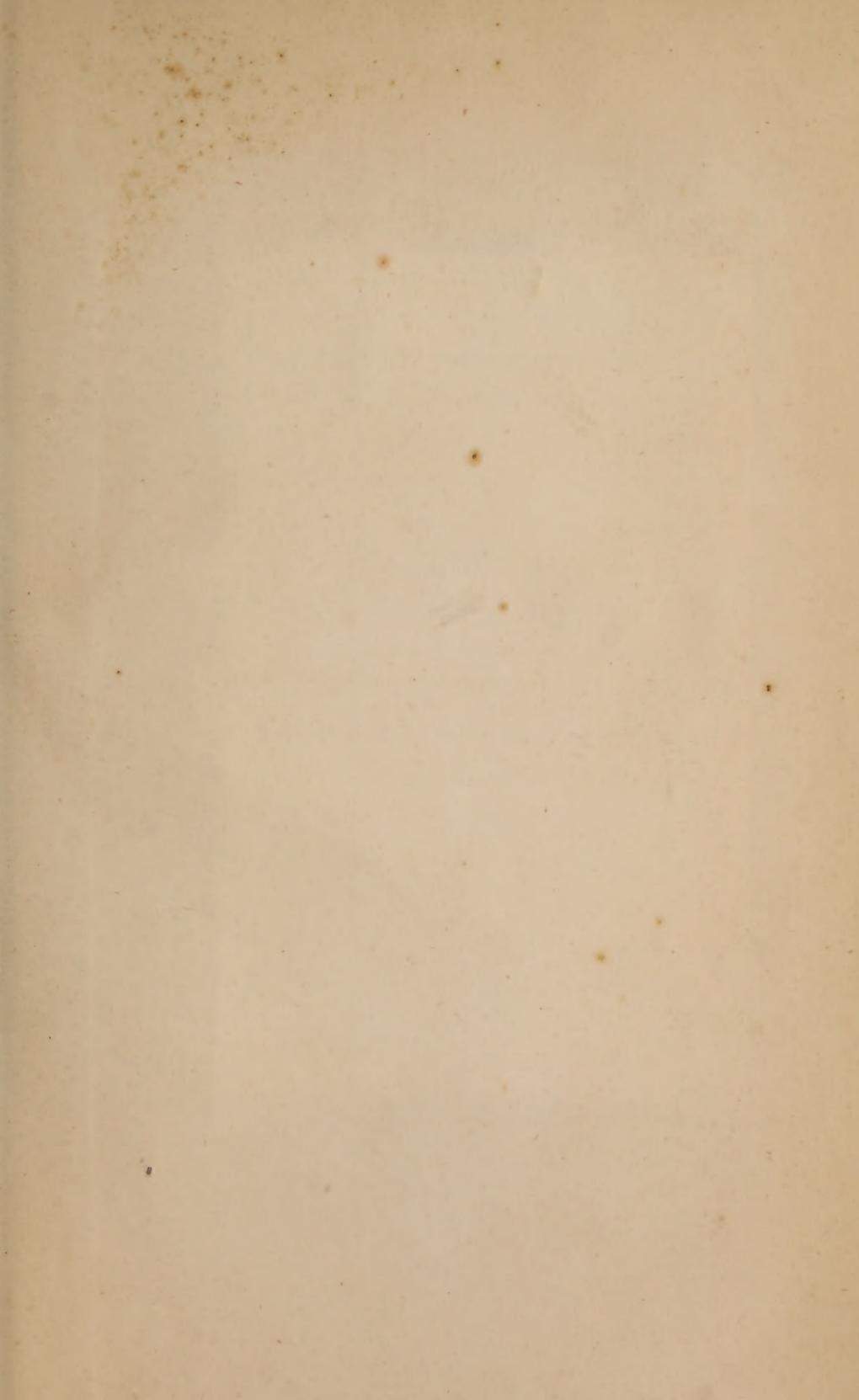
that all religion was then trodden down, and heresy and schism were the only piety ; but I give warning to all ages by the experience of this incredible age, that they take heed how they believe any, whoever they be, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions, against those that were their real or supposed adversaries.

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“ For my part, I bless God who gave me even under a usurper whom I opposed, such liberty and advantage to preach his gospel with success, which I cannot have under a king, to whom I have sworn and performed true subjection and obedience ; yea, which no age since the gospel came into this land did before possess, as far as I can learn from history. Sure I am that when it became a matter of reputation and honor to be godly, it abundantly furthered the successes of the ministry. Yea, and I shall add this much more for the sake of posterity, that as much as I have said and written against licentiousness in religion, and for the magistrates’ power in it ; and though I think that land most happy, whose rulers use their authority for Christ, as well as for the civil peace ; yet, in comparison of the rest of the world, I shall think that land happy that hath but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing to be ; and if *countenance* and *maintenance* be but added to *liberty*, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to *keep the peace*, and not to oppose the substantials of Christianity, I shall not hereafter much fear such toleration, nor despair that truth will bear down adversaries.”^o

^o Life, P. 1, p. 86.

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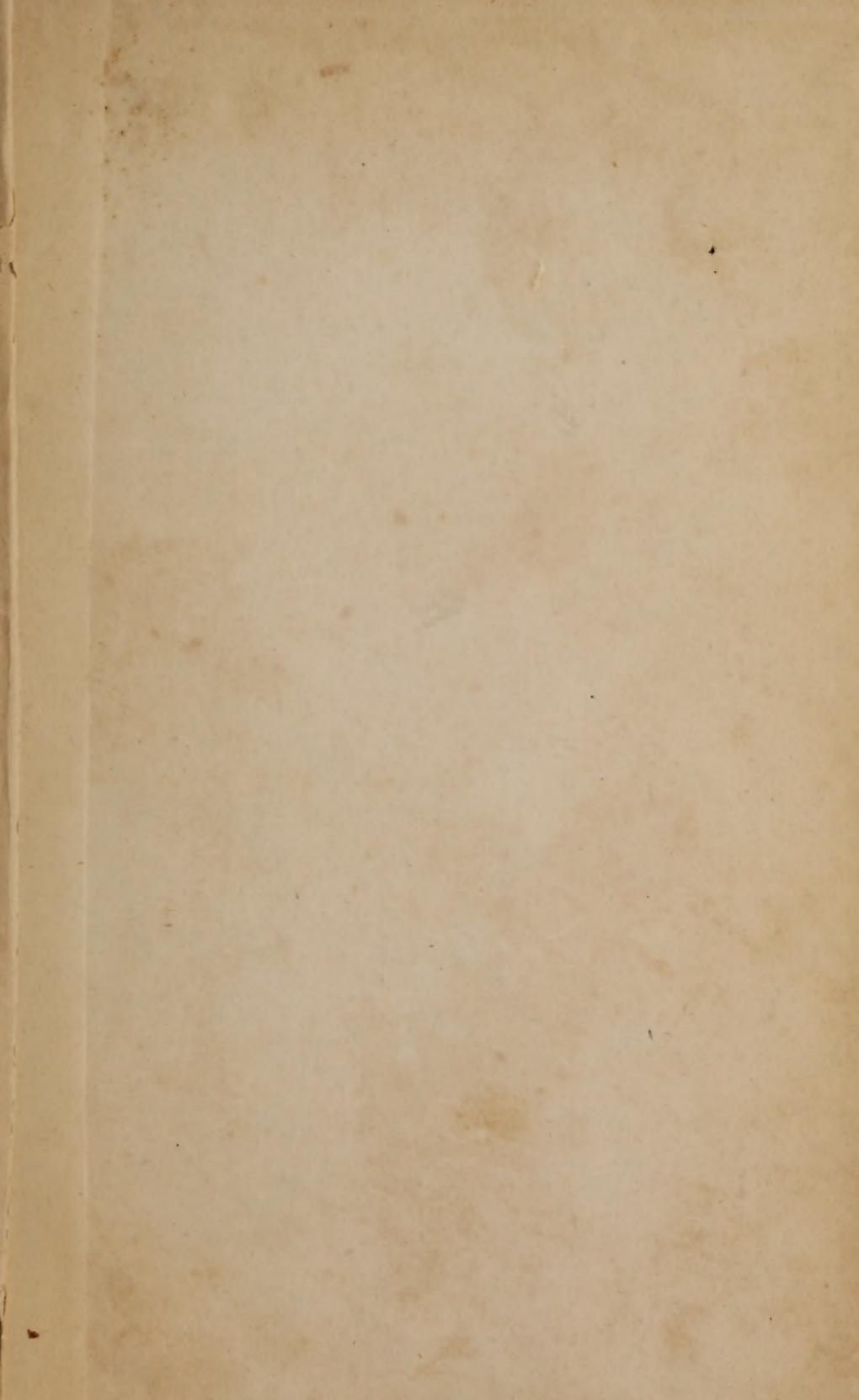


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